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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Purusottamadeva's Commentary on the Mahābhāṣya	201
By Prof Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M A	
Yādavaprakāśa on the ancient Geography of India	214
By Dr. D. C Ganguly, M A , PH D.	
Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels	225
By Prof Kalipada Mitra, M A	
The Stray Plate from Tirlingi. [Gaṅga?] Year 28	234
By R. K Ghoshal, M A	
Sanskrit Poet Ghanaśyāma	237
By Dr J. B. Chaudhuri, PH D	
Provincial Government under the Memeluke Sultans of Delhi	252
By Dr A B M Habibullah M A , PH D	

Miscellany:

Dr Bhattasali's comments on Rāmacarita	263
By Dr R C Majumdar, M A , PH D	
Astaka-navaka-nala	264
By V. Lakshminarayana, M A	
Ba'urah or Baruzā?	266
By Dr P. C Bagchi, M A , D LIT	
Pāśūpatasūtra	270
By Prof Chintaharan Chakravarti, M A.	
Evidence of the Nālandā Seals	272
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M A , PH D	
Haihaya Coins of Mahākośala	281
By Pandit L P Pandeva Sharma	

Reviews:

Srī Pāñcarātrarakṣā	284
By Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M A.	
The Eastern Frontier of British India	286
By Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A , PH D	

	PAGE
Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India . No. 66	
Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material	286
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., PH.D.	
Aitiḥāsika Jain Kāvya Saṃgraha	288
By Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A.	
Siam—Land of Freeman, Egypt and Suez Canal	290
Ceylon under the British Occupation, 1795-1893	290
By Prof. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A.	
Select Contents of Oriental Journals:	293
Plates:	FACING PAGE
Stray Plate from Tirlingi [Gaṅga?] Year 28	236

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XIX

September, 1943

No. 3

Puruṣottamadeva's Commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*

About 20 years ago we published a rare reference to a long-lost commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* by Puruṣottamadeva, the celebrated grammarian of the Bengal school of Pāṇini.¹ The work remains yet to be discovered, but we are able now to publish one or two fragments from it. It appears that a small literature grew up round this work of Puruṣottama and we give below an account of the few interesting works that have so far been discovered, though only in fragments.

(1) A commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* has written by one Śaṅkara. A single page of this work, and fortunately the first page, was recently discovered by us in a private library at Navadvīpa.² The whole of it is published below

ओं नमो महादेवाय ॥ ओं नमः परदेवतायै ॥ ० ॥ अथ महाभाष्यं लिख्यते ॥

यस्यैकै रूपमाद्यं प्रभवति जगतोऽनेकधातुप्रहाय

प्रचीयाकै शराशिल्पिमविषधरोऽनेकवक्त्रैः सुभोगी ।

सर्वज्ञानप्रसूतिर्भुजगपरिकरः प्रोतये यस्य नित्यं

देवोऽहीराः स वोऽव्यात् सितविमलतनुयौगदो योगयुक्तः ॥³

फणिभाष्येऽल्ल दुर्गत्वं कञ्चटेन प्रकाशितं ।

श्रुतपालस्य राद्धान्तः कुण्डली(श्लो) कुण्डलायते ॥

1 Pāṇinian Studies in Bengal Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee, vol III (Orientalia), Pt. I, p 204.

2 Collection of Sanskrit Mss belonging to the late Pandit Tārāprasanna Cūdāmani. There are several rare works in this collection

3 This beautiful benedictory stanza is found in some Mss of the *Yogabhāṣya* and even commented on by Vijnānabhikṣu. It cannot certainly belong to the *Bhāṣya* and is, moreover, omitted by Vācaspati Miśra. On the strength of the present work Śaṅkara becomes the real author of this verse, which bears the stamp of a consummate scholar of the early medieval age.

तिक्रमेतत् समाख्यानं माधेधरनियोजनं ।

शङ्करस्तु बुधबुद्धिः सागरं तर्तुमिच्छति ॥

तथापि, सङ्ग्रहसमुत्कीर्णभाष्यमणौ वास्पक्षेयजरन्मृगालतन्नुयतागतसहोदरोस्तु शङ्करस्य बुद्धिबानि(ः)व्ययिति ॥

समा(ख्यात)श्च पुरुषोत्तमदेवः परिसमाप्तसकलक्रियाकलापः कुण्डलीव्याख्याने बद्धपरिकरः प्रतिजानीते ॥

कुण्डलीसप्तके येऽर्था दुर्बोध्या फणिभाषिताः ।

ते सर्व्वे प्रतिपाद्यन्ते साधुशब्देन भाषया ।

यदि दुष्प्रयोगशाली स्यां फणिभक्ष्यो भवाम्यहं ॥

अथ भाष्यवृत्तिं व्याचिख्यासुर्होवो विघ्ननाशाय सदाचारपरिप्राप्तम् इष्टदेवतानतित्स्वरूपं मञ्जलमाचचार । तत्पथं यथा ॥

नमो बुधाय बुद्धाय यथात्रिमुनिच्छेपः ।

विधीयते प्राणपणा भाषायां लघुवृत्तिका ॥ इति देव...

Sankara apparently based his work on three previous scholiasts on the *Mahābhāṣya* viz Kajiata, Śrutapāla and Puruṣottamadeva. The famous author of the *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa*, it should be noted, is regularly and consistently referred to in all Bengal works as Kajiata and not Kaiyata. Śrutapāla preceded Puruṣottama, who cited him both in the *Bhāṣāūrti* (p. 543) and the *Lalṣaparibhāṣā*,⁴ he is hardly known elsewhere in India. In the above extract two introductory verses of Puruṣottama's commentary have been preserved. It was curiously called *prāṇapanā* (life-staking), as the author consciously exposed himself to an attack from the lord of snakes, the traditional compiler of the *Mahābhāṣya*, in case of misinterpretation¹. One of the verses is a clear adaptation of the introductory verse of the *Bhāṣāūrti*.

(2) Śaṅkara was himself an ancient author, as his work was commented on by one Manikāṇṭha, who described him as an incarnation of Mahādeva. Two folia of this work were discovered by us long ago in the Mss. collection of the V. R. Museum at Rajshahi. These are now published with advantage along with the original text.

4 "कर्मस्तच्छील्ये" (Pān. VI. 4. 172) इत्यत्र श्रुतपालेन ज्ञापितो ह्ययमर्थः । (V. R. S. Ms. No 630, fol 32^a). निर्देशे "अज्ञहतेरि"ति हेतुपक्षम्यन्तं श्रुतपालेन व्याख्यातं (ib. fol 35^a) Śrutapāla is also cited in the कातन्त्रवृत्तिटीका of दुर्गासिंह (कृत ; 68), and in the अमोघवृत्ति of अभिनव-शाकटायन under IV. 1. 252-3.

ओं नमो गणेशाय ॥

वेदवेदान्तमीमांसान्यायपातञ्जलाङ्गवित्
सांख्यवैशेषिकज्ञाता धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित् ।
इति बालिसहृद्दैव भाष्यसिन्धोस्तरणवर्कः ।
तनोमि मणिकण्ठोष्ठं जुतो^(x) जुदितो गुरौः ॥
शेषं प्रणम्य धवलं शिबं वृद्धं सनातनं ।
कण्ठते मणिकण्ठश्च शितिकण्ठप्रसादतः ॥

इहल्लु संसारे अल्पायुरल्पभाग्याऽविद्याजडीकृतसकलकरणासतया निवर्तितवेदाभ्यास-
यागादिधर्म्मानवलोक्य श्रीदेवव्याख्यातप्राणपणितभाष्यग्रन्थस्य दुर्बोधस्य सुप्रकाशाय
श्रीमहादेवः शङ्करनामकब्राह्मणरूपेणावलीय्यं तत्तद्वाचिख्यासुः सुहृद्भिर्जुतादिपालकं स्वदेशीयं
राजानमाशास्ते देवगुणकथनेन च मङ्गलमाचरति—यस्यह्नेत्यादि । यः स इत्यनेन अभेदार्थ-
निरूपणेन सविश्वमसीतिवत् सगुणनिर्गुणमात्रभेदं व्याचष्टे । यः स यस्य अव्याद् इत्यादिना
च परोक्षपरोक्षसम्बन्धक्रियाकर्मादि सकलमेव । भाष्यकर्ता शिवावतारस्तद्भाषितत्वे फणि-
भाष्यमिति ।

निहङ्गिध, प्रतिभानं भवेद्यस्मात् स्यति पापसमुच्चयं ।
फणिना भाषितन्त्वेवं फणिभाष्यं निगद्यत इति ।

श्लोकार्थध, सोऽद्दीशोनन्तो वो युष्मानव्यात् रक्षतु । स कः, य आद्यं रूपं ब्रह्म
चतुर्भुजं वा लङ्का प्रभवति प्रभुरिवाचरति । किमर्थं, जगतोऽनेकधातुप्रदाय पृथ्वीधारणात् ।
स किम्भूतः, प्रक्षीयक्लेशराशिरिति प्रकर्षेण क्षीया नष्टाः क्लेशराशयो यस्य स तथा । पुनः
किम्भूतः, विषमविषधर इति विषममुपायासाध्यं विषं धरति तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, अनेक-
वक्त्र इति अनेकानि वक्त्राणि मुखानि यस्य, स तथा । 'मूर्दन्यर्पितमणुवत् सहस्रमूर्दा भूगोलं
सगिरिसरित्समुद्रमिति वाक्यैकवाक्यतया सहस्रमुखः प्राप्तः । यद्वा, 'सर्व्वतः पाणिपादान्तः
सर्व्वतोऽक्षिशरोमुखम्' इत्यभिप्रायेण । पुनः किम्भूतः, बुभोगः शोभनो भोगः फणा यस्य
तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः सर्व्वज्ञानप्रसूतिः । सर्व्वेषां ज्ञानानां प्रसूतिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्मात् स तथा ।
यस्य च प्रीतये प्रीतिनिमित्तं भुजगानां परिकरः परिवारः सर्व्वदास्तीत्यव्याहारः । पुनः
किम्भूतः सितविमलत(2^a)जुरिति सिताय च विमला निर्मला तज्जुयस्व स तथा । पुनः
किम्भूतः, योगदः योगवित्तवृत्तिनिरोधस्तं ददातीति तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगयुक्तः योगेन
युक्ततया । आत्मारम्भेण पररजनं भवेदिति लोकसिद्धेः । अथवा, स सितविमलतज्जुर्व्वो
महादेवः वो युष्मानव्यादित्यन्वयः । स कः, यस्य शिवस्य प्रीतये सोऽद्दीशोऽनन्तो
नित्यमस्ति । सोऽद्दीशः कः, यस्यह्नेत्यादि सर्व्वं योजनीयं । महादेवः किम्भूतः योगदः ।
पुनः किम्भूतः, योगयुक्तः अयं योगी । यद्यत्तदशीर्व्वस्याचरितं तत्तदेवावुवर्तते लोक इति
नयात् ।

दुर्गत्ये सति शिष्टकृतवर्त्मनि प्रवर्त्तनं निःशङ्कमिति प्रतिपादयितुमाह फणिभाष्ये
दुर्गत्वेभित्यादि । कुण्डल्यामेव कुण्डल्यायते भूषणायते नान्यथेति तात्पर्यं । एतदुक्तं भवति
—अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सम्यक् तात्पर्यं केनापि न प्रतिपन्नं किन्तु केनचित् किञ्चिदित्येवं ममापि
निर्दोष उच्यते । दुर्गत्वमिति दुर्ज्ञेयत्वमित्यर्थः । दुःक्षेन गम्यते ज्ञायतेऽदः इति कर्मणि

उप्रत्ययः । ननु अत्र भावप्रत्ययेन साध्यसाधनसम्बन्ध उक्तस्तथा च कञ्प्रत्येन तत्सम्बन्धकथने किं साहाय्यमिति चेन्न, दुर्यं यत् प्रत्येयं तदेव दुर्यत्वं स्थायं त्वप्रत्ययोऽहम् । तस्य भावस्त्वतला-
विलस्य स्थाय्येपि भाव आश्रीयते । ननु भावः सत्ता महाविषया सैव परं सामान्यमनुवृत्ति-
हेतुत्वात्, तद्व्याप्यमपरं सामान्यं तच्च गोत्वादि व्यावृत्तिहेतुत्वात् तत् अपरं सामान्यमित्यु-
च्यते । तत्र च सत्ता व्यापकजातिसद्भावे त्वतलौ विहिताविति चेन्न, तथात्वे गवि गोत्व-
मित्युक्ते घटादिसत्ताप्रतीतिः स्यात् सत्ताया एकरूपत्वात् । ननु तदा प्रकृतिप्रत्यासत्तिगता-
नुगतिकत्वं प्रत्ययानां यथा, पक्षेति तृचा पचनकर्तृत्वबोधः न तु क्रियान्तरकर्तृत्वबोधः इति
चेन्न ; तलानेकत्वसद्भावात् । ननु तदा सत्तायामपि अनेकत्वं सम्बन्धिभेदात् यथा,

सम्बन्धिभेदात् सत्सैव मिथ्यमाना गवादिषु ।

जातिरित्युच्यते सोऽर्थो जातिशब्दे पृथक् पृथक् ॥

इत्यादि कारकविवेके लिखनात्⁵ इति चेद्वादं, किन्तु तथात्वे गवयसत्ताप्रतीतिरबाधिता
स्यात् गवयसत्ता हि प्रकृतिप्रत्यासत्ता सादृश्यात् । तस्मात्, भवतोऽस्मादभिधानप्रत्ययाविति
भाव इति भार्गवाचार्यलक्षणं शरणं । अस्यार्थः, यस्मात् पदार्थादेतोर्घटादिषु विशेष्येषु
घटादिशब्दा अभिधीयन्ते वक्तुमिः श्रोतृभिरत्र घटाद्याकारानुगतज्ञानमबाधितं प्राप्यते स
पदार्थो भावः । स च स्थाय्यद्रव्यलिङ्गसंख्याकर्माद्यात्मकः पञ्चकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः इत्यस्यादिभूतः
स्थाय्य इत्युच्यते । स्थाय्य इति विशेषणस्य नामान्तरं, द्रव्यमिति विशेष्यस्य नामान्तरं, तेन
विशेष्ये कम्बुप्रोवादिमदादौ घटादिशब्दानां या प्रवृत्तिः प्रवर्तनं तस्या निमित्तं यत् स भाव
इत्यर्थः । ननु तदा गङ्गाघोषादौ गङ्गात्वं तीरस्य, प्रतीतेरनिमित्तत्वात्तद्व्याहृतं । मा, अत्र
गङ्गेव तीरप्रतीतौ गङ्गापदस्य प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं न तु गङ्गात्वं व्यवहितत्वात् । तथा चोक्तं,
लक्ष्ये व्यञ्जेय तथा वाच्ये यत्तु स्यात् परिचायकं ।

भेदकं तद्विजानीयात् प्रवृत्तेः कारणं स्पृते⁶ ॥

तेन जातिशब्दे जातिः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं घटत्वादि । द्रव्यसमानाधिकरणगुणे शुक्लत्वं
शुक्लो गुणः वैयधिकरण्ये तु शुक्लत्वं जातिरेव । कुन्तविशिष्टपुरुषे यदा लक्षणया कुन्तशब्द-
स्तदा कुन्तत्वं द्रव्यमेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं, अन्यथा कुन्तत्वं जातिरेव । पाकः पचनमित्यत्र क्रिया
प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं । समासकृतदितेषु सम्बन्धः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं । यथा, राजपुरुषत्वं राज्ञा
सह पुरुषस्य स्वस्वामिकसम्बन्धः । पाचकत्वमिति पचिक्रियया तत्कर्तुः साध्यसाधनभाव-
सम्बन्धः । गार्ग्यत्वमिति गार्गेण सह अपत्यापत्यसद्भावसम्बन्धः पीलस्य । तथा चोक्तं,
“समासकृतदितेषु सम्बन्धामिधानमन्यत्र स्वयमिदं रूपमव्यभिचरितसम्बन्धेभ्यः” इति । रुढौ
कुम्भकारतन्त्रवायप्रवृत्तीनां जातिरेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं अभिन्नरूपे पीलुर्द्वन्द्वः पीलु फलं ।
अनयोर्वृत्तत्वफलत्वे.....

(Preserved with V R S Ms No 649)

This is a fine specimen of the dialectic style of a medieval scholar, which is highly discursive, yet free from the phraseology of the *Navya-nyāya*

5 This seems to be a different work from Puruṣottamadeva's *Kārahacakra*, where the last line of the *kārika* reads as, जातिरित्युच्यते तस्यां सर्वे शब्दाः व्यवस्थिताः । (fol. 1).

school of Navadvīpa. Maṇikanṭha was a pure grammarian and must be different from the logician Maṇikanṭha Miśra, who belonged to Mithilā and preceded Gaṅgeśa. He may or may not be identical with Maṇikanṭha Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Gaṇeśa, a small tract of whom named Kāraṅkhaṇḍa-namandana exists in Ms.⁶ Even in the small fragment printed above Maṇikanṭha has preserved for us the name of an ancient scholar *Bhārgyā-cāryya*, whose definition of the grammatical term 'bhāva' has been cited and explained by him. Maṇikanṭha definitely states that Śaṅkara wanted to publish and elucidate the difficult work *Mahābhāṣya* as explained by *Puruṣottamadeva* at the risk of his life. It should be noted that both Śaṅkara and Maṇikanṭha refers to Puruṣottama as 'Deva' or 'Śrīdeva,' implying that 'Deva' was probably the family title of the great author.

(3) A fairly large book (fol. 95 plus 7) called माध्यव्याख्याप्रपञ्च is lying for a long time in the V. R. Museum at Rajshahi unnoticed by scholars. This appears now to be a highly discursive commentary on Puruṣottama's lost work on the *Mahābhāṣya*, but the original from which it was copied was hopelessly mutilated.⁷ The curious ending and colophon of the book is reproduced below:

अलैव लालामयितः फणोन्द्रो गणोन्द्रविस्मापनमत्र केवलं ।

न विद्यते तल महाशने भ्रमो मूर्ध्नि स्थितं यस्य चराचरं जगत् ॥

अनिरूपणीये ब्रह्मणि निरूपणार्थं प्रवृत्तस्य पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्याल कैवल्यप्राप्तिः ।

ब्रह्मवेशाधरः सर्पः कौतुकार्थी गतः सर्वं ।

कीर्मवानिति संपृष्टः सप्पोहमिति सम्बद्धः ॥

रेफः कुल तदा पृष्टे व्यत्ययो बहुलं धितः ।

छन्दस्येवेति तत् पृष्टे छन्दःकर्ता भवानिति ॥

इति फणोन्द्रप्रणीत-महाभाष्यार्थदुरुहतात्पर्यव्याख्यानप्रवृत्त-श्रीमदेवप्राणपणित-व्याख्या-प्रपञ्चे अष्टाध्यायीगतार्थबोधकः (:) प्रथमः पादः समाप्तः । श्रीशिवरुद्रशर्मणः स्वाक्षरष्वशकाब्दाः १७२ ॥ शाके पञ्चनमोद्विचन्द्रगणिते वारे शनावारिवने, भाष्यग्रन्थनितान्तदुर्ग-विपिनप्रोहामदन्तावलः । ग्रन्थोर्वं पुरुषोत्तमेन रचितो व्यालेखि यज्ज्ञानमया, नत्वा श्रीपरदेव-ताद्विक्रमलं सर्वार्थसिद्धिप्रदं ॥ (fol. 95^a)

6 Stein's *Jammu Cat. of Mss.*, 1894, p. 136 (Ms. No. 1570)

7 V. R. S. Ms. No. 649. The scribe states on fol. 11b अल पल्लव्यं नास्ति. So in fol. 20b अलादर्शो पल्लव्याभावाः, fol. 32b अलादर्शो पञ्चपल्लाभावाः, and in fol. 89a इतः सप्तपलं नास्ति. Moreover, fol. 94 is not in continuation of fol. 93 and there are stray leaves at the end in a different hand.

Here also the original author Puruṣottama is referred to by his title as 'Śrīmaddeva'. As the first page of the book contains large lacunae the name of the commentator is lost. There are marginal notes in the copy and in fol. 6b the author is referred to in a note as 'Sanmīśraḥ', while a note in fol. 11a calls him 'Śrīmīśraḥ.' He was not apparently a recent author, as the present scribe in 1780 A.D. failed to secure a reliable copy of the book, which already became rare by that time. The book even in its mutilated state contains several extremely rare quotations from previous authors, some of which are as follows न गुणो गुणसम्पन्नो ह्यरूपी रूपवान् विभुः । अविग्रहो विग्रहश्च शिवब्रह्मगुणाकरः । तेनेदं भाषितं पूर्वं कथिवह्ने निदर्शनं । गणोन्द्रः । छाया-सपविरोधोयं भावाभावो न विद्यते इति पद्यादं । After this introduction there are a few disconnected letters and words ending with निर्गुणब्रह्म अग्रे व्याख्यास्यामः । Then the following verse of the long lost commentator Śrutapāla is cited and explained —

असौव लालामयितः कणीन्द्रो, गणोन्द्रविस्मापनमल केवलं ।

न विद्यते तल महाशने भ्रमो भ्रमोर्मिमांसां शिरसा विभर्त्यजः ॥

इति धृतपालविवेचनं ।

Then, abruptly, the introductory verse of Puruṣottama as cited by Śaṅkara above is thus explained:—

यथावदध्यवसायो बुद्धिः सा च साधकस्य देयत्वे यस्यास्ति स बुद्धो नारायणस्तस्मै नमो । विधीयते भाषायां लघुवृत्तिका इत्यनुष्ठुप्ताः, पुञावेति विशेषणं । किं कृत्वा, यथास्मिन्नुनि लीन् मुनीननतिक्रम्य । नमः किंविशिष्टं लक्षणं लक्ष्यतेऽभीष्टं येन तथा ।अथ मङ्गल-विचारः । यथा श्रुतिः, प्रणिपत्य सच्चिदानन्दमनुजत । धर्मतत्त्वाभिमतं सिध्यति इति मेत्रेयवचनं । एतदर्थमेव मङ्गललयमल । न च कुण्डलीव्याख्याने कृतबहुशोमङ्गलस्यापि पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य कथमसिद्धिरिति वाच्यं, अदृष्टसहकारेण मङ्गलं विघ्ननाशकं । उन्मत्त-परिकालह्वने प्राक्तनानुमानमिति गौतमीयात् ।बौद्धपरितोषाय बुद्धपदंतयाणां मुनीनां यानि लक्षणानि सूत्राणि तान्यनतिक्रम्येति प्राचीनाः । प्राण एव पणो यल सा तथा । अविज्ञाता च स्वल्पा च वेदाप्राप्तत्वाद्भाषायां पदं (fol. 2)

अथ एतत्पञ्चमवतारयामः । अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । वैदिकानां लौकिकानां च प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागपरिकल्पनया सामान्यविशेषवता च लक्षण्येन गत्यन्तराभाव इति महेश्वर-प्रतिज्ञानं अ इ उण् इत्यादि डामरवं सूत्रं । अथशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः.....

(Fol. 5b: cf. *Bhāṣāvṛtti* p. 1)

On fol. 28a there is an interesting quotation followed by what seems to be a reference to an actual passage of Puruṣottama —

यदुक्तं, एतादृक् शिष्ट एवासी लक्षण्यभास्य वर्णितं ।

कर्म चास्य न गृहीयाद्बुचनं मन्यते सदा ॥

नानुमानं प्रमाणेष्वेत्युक्ता बौद्धो नहिर्भवन् ।
 कथमित्युक्तमाले तु निम्ने लालायितः कथी ॥
 द्वित्वापत्तौ समाकीर्णं बोद्धव्यं येन केनचित् ।
 ईश्वरानुप्रमुदत्वाद्बौद्धो बुद्धेर्बहिर्गतः ॥

स्थगितः सञ्चितः । शब्दप्रणालीमाह—एतत्प्रयुक्तः शब्दः साधुशब्दः अस्य शब्द-
 स्यान्वाक्यानमिदमिति ।

No other passages of Purusottama can be definitely traced in the book except the following line in fol. 94a:—

अथ यथपतिपाठार्थं महेश्वरप्रतिज्ञानमुपदिशति—वर्णानामुपदेश इति ।

All the above passages along with the curious ending of the book seem to suggest that the work of Purusottama did not extend beyond the first Pāda only of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

A short index of the topics dealt with in the book and a few extracts are given below.

Fol. 2^a मन्त्रलविचारः, 3^b अनुषङ्गः, 4^a ऊहः, 7-10 प्रमाणपरोक्षा, 11^b उपाधिः, 14^b मुक्तिः, 14-21 सांख्यमतं, 27-37 शब्दबोधः, 37^a व्याप्तिः, 38-55 कारकं, 55-68 प्रत्यक्षादिज्ञानविचारः, 68^a प्रातिपदिकार्थः, 70^b एकवाक्यसाविचारः, 71-74 समासः, 75-8 अलंकाराः, 78-81 उपसर्गः, 81-88 कृतद्धितादिनिरूपणं, 88-93 शब्दाधः ॥

कृतमन्त्रलाः आशुच्यादिसुच्यन्ते इत्यत्र कृतमन्त्रलाः कृतगोभूरिरण्यशान्त्युपकस्पर्शा इति हरिशर्मा । (3a)

पदशेषकारस्तु शब्दाध्याहारं शेषमिति वदति । (3b)

“ओंकारवाचशब्दश्च.....इति व्याखिलिखनात् । (5b f n)

अतएव व्याधिः—ज्ञानं द्विविधं सम्यगसम्यक् च । (7a)

तथा चानभिहितसूत्रे उक्तं (इन्दुमित्रेण) :—“एक एक इत्याहुर्द्वावित्यन्ये तयोऽपरे ।

चतुष्कः पञ्चकश्चैव चतुष्के सूत्रमुच्यते ॥” (31b)

यत्पुनरिन्दुमित्रेणोक्तं “न तिष्ठन्तान्येकशेषं प्रयोजयन्ति.....तत्पूर्वपक्षमालं.....
 अतएव प्राचीनवृत्तिदोषायां कञ्चटमतानुसारिणा हरिमिश्रेणापि भाष्यवचनमनूय..... (36a)

समसनमेव हि सङ्केतितवदिति भीमासा । तेन समासस्य शक्तिः कल्प्यते तन्मतेन तु लक्षणादिरिति हरिशर्मलिखनात् वैयाकरणस्तन्मतेवाद्रियते । (71b)

Purusottamadeva was a Bengali

All the three works described above have been discovered in Bengal and are absolutely unknown elsewhere in India, thus furnishing further corroboration to an inference drawn from a large number of internal and external evidences, stated below, that Purusottama belonged to Bengal.

(1) Sṛṣṭidhara, one of the Bengali commentators of the *Bhāṣāyārtu*, states categorically that the book was written at the request of king Lakṣmaṇa-sena: वैदिकप्रयोगानर्थिनो राज्ञो लक्ष्मणसेनस्याज्ञाया प्रकृते कर्मणि प्रसजन् इतोर्लङ्घुताया

हेतुमाह भाषायामिति (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, Intro., p. 11). The following marginal note found on fol. 11a of the Ms. of the *Bhāṣyavyākhyāprapañca* described above substantially agrees with Sṛṣṭidhara, though the reason stated for Puruṣottama's omission of Vedic matter is slightly different here: —तथा च इयं लघुवृत्तिः माहेस्वरादिग्रन्थपरम्परया प्राप्तवैदिक-लौकिकपदसंस्कारकत्वे लक्षणसेन(स्य) राज्ञो वैदिकपदस्यानर्हत्वात् वैदिकपदमुक्तं लौकिक-पदसंस्कारार्थं महामहोपाध्यायश्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवेन कृता । लौकिकमपि वाक्यं शिष्टप्रयुक्तं यदि भवति तदा तदेव प्रमायामिति पूर्वमुक्तं श्रीमिश्रेण अतस्तत्संस्कारकत्वात्तुष्टितिरपि तत्त्वज्ञानोपयोगिनी ।

Lakṣmanasena was undoubtedly the most illustrious patron of learning in Bengal in that age and his political and literary activities begin from about 1140 A.D. in the reign of his grandfather.⁸ His patronage thus covers the long period of 60 years (c. 1140-1200 A.D.), though he actually came to the throne at an advanced age within 1170-78 A.D. As we shall presently find Puruṣottama's date is not in conflict here. Sṛṣṭidhara was comparatively an early writer of about 1500 A.D.⁹ and, though he blundered about the authorship of the lost *Bhāṣāvṛtti*,¹⁰ his statement about the origin of the book he was himself commenting upon cannot be lightly brushed aside. Lakṣmanasena's dominion probably included part of Mithilā and Magadha and Puruṣottama might very well belong to Mithilā without conflicting

8 Cf. *JRASB*, vol. VIII, (1942), p. 23

9 Sṛṣṭidhara refers to many early and unknown authors the commentary on Amara he consulted was that of Subhūti (under Pan. V. 4. 83) and not Rāyamukuta Umāpatidāsa's comm. on Bhaṭṭa (under I. 4. 96), Tathāgatācāryya on the *Vāṣaṇadattā* (III. 11. 132), Vallabhācāryya on Māgha (III. 11. 111) are notable instances. Under I. 11. 21 he quotes "तथा च, 'कुञ्जरकुलं कुम्भाभयाभ्यर्चनादीनि त्वामनुनाथते कुञ्जदुग्धं पलायतं मा कृषा' इति च याज्ञवल्क्यामिति सरस्वतीतीर्थपादाः ।" This is the only place where an author is cited with due reverence, implying that they were not far removed in time. Narahari Sarasvatītirtha, the famous commentator on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, exactly records his birth-date and horoscope and was born in 1298 Saka (=October, 1376 A.D. as worked out by the data in the horoscope: vide Jhalkikar's Ed., Intr., p. 23, where the reference to the *Vikramābda* is wholly wrong). Sṛṣṭidhara thus probably lived late in the 15th century A.D.

10 Sṛṣṭidhara was apparently confused by passages like अर्तुहरिणा भागवत्ति-कृता चोक्तं (*Durgatavṛtti*, p. 117). His mistake is repeated by Dr. S. K. De by identifying two distinct authors mentioned in the line तथा च भागवत्तिकृता विमल-मतिनाम्नेन निपातितः (*Kāśāstra-parīkṣā*, end of Sandhi)

Sandhi) with Śṛṣṭidhara's statement. But the internal evidence conclusively rules out such conjectures.

(2) Mss. copies of Puruṣottama's masterpiece, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, are available in large numbers in North Bengal and the late Mr. Cakravartī utilised one dozen of them in editing the book, rejecting many others as useless. On the other hand, hardly any copy of the book has been discovered outside Bengal. In one line of argument adopted by some scholars,¹¹ this alone is sufficient to establish Puruṣottama's belonging to Bengal.

(3) The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* was studied in the *Tols* of North Bengal till the end of the last century. Adam in his Second Report (1835 A.D.) on the Vernacular Education of Bengal gives a complete list of all the Sanskrit seminaries existing then in one single Thana (Natore) of the Rajshahi District. He remarks, "The Sanskrit Grammar of Panini is that which is most generally used in this district. This pandit (Kārtikeyacandīa Vidyā-lāṅkāra of vill Bājurbhāg) first teaches the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. . . . He afterwards reads the *Nyāsa* . ." (Adam's Reports, Cal. Univ. Ed., pp 561-2).

(4) Puruṣottama has been cited more or less extensively by all grammarians of Bengal almost in an unbroken line from Śaranadeva (1173-4 A.D.) and Sarvānanda (after 1159-60 A.D.)¹² down to the last century. Bengal was all along free from the influence of the Benares school of Pāṇini (Bhaṭṭoji etc.), while references to Puruṣottama are very few and far between in the works of that school.¹³

11 According to S K De (*D R Bhandarkar vol.*, p 74 fn) the 'eastern origin' of the *Agnipurāṇa* is indicated by 'the fact that Bengal Mss are by far the more plentiful'. A fragment of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* is reported from Bombay (Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1887-91, 544) and another from Madras (R 4200). The copy at London (*IO*, p 162) is in Bengali Script.

12 The date (1081 Śaka) recorded by Sarvānanda is not of himself but of a previous scholar Śrinivāsa. In genealogies of Rādhiya Brahmins of Bengal we can trace a very rare name 'Āthara' in the *Vandyaghatiya* family, which seems to be identical with the name of Sarvānanda's father 'Ārūthara', which is equally rare. One of the Kulins honoured in the 2nd Samikarana was Devala and Āthara was an younger brother of Devala's father. Sarvānanda then becomes a contemporary of Devala (last quarter of the 12th century).

13 Bhaṭṭoji in his *Praudhamanoramā* (Benares, 1907) refers to Puruṣottama once only by name (p. 138) and once only to the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p 486). On the other hand, we counted sixteen references to Puruṣottama and the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* in the small printed fragment of Puṇḍarikākṣa Vidyāsāgara's *Kāśāntrapradīpa* on Kāraka and all of them except two can be traced in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. Gopinātha Tarkācāryya.

(5) The late Mr. Cakravartī (*Op. cit.*, Intr., p. 8) rightly points out that the phrase 'punarbaś' in the enumeration of the *Pratyāhāras* (p. 1) by Puruṣottama implies an identical appearance and pronunciation of the distinct letters 'b' and 'v', which is prevalent nowhere else in India except Bengal. Within a century before Puruṣottama the Maithila scholar Udayanācāryya throws a sharp fling at the scholars of Bengal for their similarly identical pronunciation of the three sibilants¹⁴ This proves that Mithila cannot be the birth-place of Puruṣottama.

(6) Under Pāṇ. V. iii 57 Puruṣottama gives the very suggestive illustration पाबाह्या गौदेभ्य आग्यतराः None but an author from Gauda can compare the particular term "Gauda" with such a sweeping general term as 'pāścātya' The decline of prosperity in Bengal along with the fall of the Pāla empire seems to be reflected in this sentence

(7) The illustration 'Varendri-Magadham' under II iv. 7 is also quite unique and can very well compare with the 'Rādhā-Magadham' of another Bengali grammarian Kramadiśvara.¹⁵

(8) Several other illustrations from the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* may be cited as pointing to the Bengali origin of the author —

(i) वक्ताः जनपदाः under I. ii. 51. There are 8 illustrations in the *Kāśikā* here including this one. But while Jayāditya selects 'Pañcālāḥ' for special analysis at the outset, Puruṣottama prefers 'Vaṅgāḥ'

(ii) लेखको नास्तिकोषकः under II ii. 24, a familiar apologia of Bengali scribes

(iii) कृष्णदासस्य पुत्रा तुभ्यमहं सम्प्रददे under VI iii. 70, also a familiar name in Bengal.

(iv) पद्मावती as the name of a river under VI. iii 120, being the well-known Padmā of Bengal.

a later author of the 16th cent. A.D., in his comm on the *Kāśāntrapariśista* has as many references mostly under the name of *Laghuvṛtti* (Gurunātha's Ed., 1321 B.S., pp. 43, 173, 234, 265, 280, 283, 300, 304, 373, 376, 451, 456, 463, 465, 472, & 486).

14 In the *Tātparyā-pariśuddhi* as follows. —

शुक्रादिव्याहृतिनिबन्धनस्तु नीलादिव्यवहारः शक्योरिव सम्भवहारो गौडानाम् ।

... इत्यादि तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धाबुद्धयः ।

(cited by Vallabhācāryya in the *Nyāyalilāvati*, Chow Ed., p. 445).

15 *Saṅkṣiptasāra* VII 359 Kramadiśvara or rather his reviser Jumarā seems to have borrowed some striking examples from Puruṣottama and cannot, therefore, be placed before the 13th cent. A.D. Vide *Indian Culture*, vol. VI, p. 476.

(ii-iv) are, not found in the *Kāśikā*.

The cumulative effect of the above evidence can never be mistaken, but in spite of this an esteemed scholar of Bengal most arbitrarily regards this claim of Bengal as "extremely problematical," 'without assigning any cogent reasons.¹⁶

Puruṣottama's date and works

Besides the two printed works, the *Bhāṣāvyūṭṭi* (Ed., V.R.S., Rajshahi, 1918) and the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (Ed., Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1938), the following books are ascribed to the same author

(i) The *Kāraṇacakra* (L. 2345), an elementary treatise to be shortly published by the V. R. Museum.

(ii-iii) Two polemical works, the *Paribhāṣāvyūṭṭi* (Mss. at Rajshahi and Poona) and the *Jñāpakasamuccaya* (Mss. at Oxford and Poona), where the author's scholarship is shown at its best

(iv) An *Uṇādvūṭṭi* (lost) cited by Ujjvaladatta (II 25, 49, III. 91, 98)

(v) *Durghaṭa* cited by Sarvānanda (Pt. II, p. 277)

(vi) A comm. on the *Raghuvamśam* cited by Subhūticandra, a comm. on the *Amarakoṣa* (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, p. 379).

16 S. K. De, in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to F W Thomas*, 1939, pp 57-8 Our knowledge about these early writers are so meagre and incomplete that every scrap about them should be carefully collected and examined Of late Dr De has been criticising any attempt to put forth Bengal's claim for early Sanskrit authors on indirect evidence He regards the evidence for Śrīharsa the Naisadha-kāra as "not conclusive" (*New Indian Antiquary*, August 1939, Ross Number, pp 265-6) and that for Śālikanātha 'unproved' (ib. p 271 fn) Dr De again put forth Bengal's claim for the semi-mythical Pālākāpya on extremely flimsy grounds (*D R Bhandarkar Volume*, 1940, p 73) and advertised it beforehand as *with some justification* (*New Indian Antiquary*, Ross Number, 1939, p. 263). The *Pālākāpya*, as a matter of fact, was professedly written at the court of king Romapāda of Anga, whose emissaries brought the sage from his hermitage 'resting on the Himālaya' (*śālarājapāritam* I. 39) or 'situated by the side of the Himālaya' (*himavataḥ pāśve* I 101), where the *Lambitya* turns towards the ocean i.e. somewhat in the eastern border of Upper Assam. In other words the residence of Pālākāpya, whether before or afterwards, was exactly beyond the limits of the province of Bengal! Dr De has vaguely referred in this connection to 'other traditions' of Puruṣottama's belonging to Mithilā and Orissa. We are not aware of any such traditions, which should be published for examination in connection with the problem before us.

(vii) Comm. on the *Mahābhāṣya* noticed above, which was his last work left unfinished.

It is not possible to determine whether the lexicographer Puruṣottama is identical with the grammarian.¹⁷

The upper limit of Puruṣottama's date depends on that of Maitreya Rakṣita, the greatest name in the Bengal school of Pāṇini.¹⁸ Rakṣita is found cited both in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* and the *Jñāpakasamuccaya* of Puruṣottama.¹⁹ Rakṣita seems to refer to an opinion of Bhojadeva,²⁰ if so, he cannot be

17 L 2155 is wrongly described as a comm. on Bhaṭṭi, it is really a complete copy of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

18 S K De criticises our suggestion that Rakṣita belonged to the Maitreya family of the Varendra Brahmins of Bengal (*New Ind Ant.*, Ross Number, 1939, p. 272 fn). As a matter of fact what he has chosen to treat as an 'extraordinary argument' requiring 'no serious consideration' was really an well established tradition long current in North Bengal and requires very serious consideration for being carefully recorded more than a century ago by Adam in his Report on Vernacular Education (1835). He writes 'besides the grammatical works of this school previously cited, this teacher also uses the *Dhātupradīpa* or *Tantrapradīpa*, an illustration of Pāṇini's list of roots with examples of their inflexions by Maitreya Rakṣita, an ancient author reputed to have been a native of the village of Majgaon, in the Natore Thana of Raybahi' (Cal Univ Ed., pp. 577-78). It should be noted that Adam made a complete survey of all the then existing *Tols* of this particular Thana Majgaon or Mājhaḡrām, as the genealogical works state, was the ancestral place of a branch of the Maitreya family and the first ancestor of this branch is actually stated to be one 'Rakṣitāi', whom the genealogical evidence would place somewhere in the 13th or 14th cent AD (*Kulāśāstradīpikā* by J C Cakravartī, p. 37). According to S K De 'as a Buddhist writer the name Maitreya-rakṣita is quite intelligible by itself, but he does not explain why then he is cited by all later authors, either as 'Maitreya' or as 'Rakṣita', but never as 'Maitreya-rakṣita'. Nor does he examine the implication of the appositional phrase 'Maitreya Rakṣitaḥ' found in Ujvaladatta (I 38) and the reading of the colophon in many copies of the *Tantrapradīpa* as 'Mahopādhyāya-Maitreya-Śrī-Rakṣita-viracite'.

19 "ज्ञापकखालाये 'अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे' इत्यसवर्णग्रहणं रश्मिभोपवर्णितम् ।" (V R S Ms. No. 630, fol. 18b cf. Suradeva's *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*, pp. 124-25). For the reference in the *Jñāpakasamuccaya*, vide Aufrecht *Oxf. Cat.*, p. 161.

20 Under Pāṇ. VII in 19 Rakṣita in his *Tantrapradīpa* (V R S Ms. fol. 8b cf. also *Durgabhāṣāvṛtti* loc. cit.) remarks on the formation of the word 'सोहृद्'—
केचिदर्थवदग्रहणपरिभाषया निपातितसुहृच्छब्दस्य योऽवयवो हृच्छब्दस्तदन्त्यस्य उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न भवतीति व्याचक्षते । समुदायो हि तत्र मिलनचनः अवयवस्तु निरर्थक एव ॥ This tallies with the opinion of Bhojadeva as cited in the *Ganaratnamabodadbi* of Vardhamāna (Eggeling's Ed., p. 431-32). Bhojadeva reigned about 1010-1055 AD.

placed before the last quarter of the 11th cent. (1075-1100 A.D.). In the *Dhātupradīpa* (p. 124) he refers to the *Sarvasva* i.e. the *Upādhyāya-sarvasva* of Dāmodara Sena, apparently a comparatively recent writer of Bengal. It is, therefore, right to place him between 1075-1125 A.D., so that the upper limit of Purusottama's date would be somewhere in the second quarter of the 12th cent. (1125-50 A.D.). This does not conflict with his traditional contemporaneity with Lakṣmana Sena, for, his reference in Śaraṇadeva (1173-4 A.D.) and Sarvānanda is easily explained by an interval of a decade or two, as all of them belong to the same province and probably also to the same court.²¹

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

21 Śrinivāsa wrote the *Gaṇtacūdāmaṇi*, on the evidence of Sarvānanda (p. 91), in 1081 *Saka* (1150-60 A.D.) and was respectfully engaged by Ballāla Sena to write for him the *Adbhutasāgara* as stated in v. 8 —

मीमांसानयमांसल-स्मृतिपरामर्शप्रकर्षस्फुर-
 ढेदाज्ञागमतत्त्वनिष्पत्तिं ग्रन्थेऽल पृथ्वीपतिः ।
 युक्तायुक्तविवेचनप्रणयिनं प्रीत्या मर्तिः (न्ताप)नी-
 वशो(र्त्ति)समहार्षरत्नमनघश्रोः श्रीनिवासे व्यधात् ॥

The *Adbhutasāgara* was begun in 1050 *Saka* (1168-9 A.D.) This Śrinivāsa was cited in the *Brāhmanasarvasa* by Halāyudha (vide *J.A.S.B.* 1915, p. 330), who again was in his turn cited in the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* (ib., p. 333). So all the three scholars flourished under the same monarch Lakṣmana Sena within his actual reign. Similarly, Śaraṇa in 1173-4 A.D. might very well refer to Purusottama who wrote, say, in 1150-60 A.D.

Yādavaprakāśa on the ancient Geography of India

Yādavaprakāśa was born in the village Tirupputkuli or Ḡḍhrasaras near Kāñcīpuram or Conjeeveram. He was the *Guru* (preceptor) of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānujācārya. He is referred to by Hemacandra. He may be taken to have flourished in the second half of the eleventh century A.D. Dr. Gustav Oppert places his date in c 1000 A.D.

Yādavaprakāśa has written a book on Sanskrit vocabulary, named *Vaiṣṇyanī*¹. The *Deśādhyāya* in *Bhūmiskānda* and *Purādhyāya* in *Pātālakānda* of the *Prayāyabhāga* of this work throw important light on the ancient geography of India. The book has hardly been noticed by the scholars working on this branch of Indology.

The *Vaiṣṇyanī* states that² there are six islands, viz. Aṅgadvīpa, Yavadvīpa, Malayadvīpa, Śaṅkhadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, and Varāhadvīpa. Prācyā is to the south-east of Śarāvati, and Udīcyā is to the north-west of it (Śarāvati). Madhya-deśa is in between them (Prācyā and Udīcyā). Āryāvarta, otherwise known as Brahmavedi, is between the Vindhya and the Himālaya.

Udīcyā includes the following countries (janapada) Cīna (=Kharambhara), Gandhāra (=Dihanda), Yavana (=Huruṣkara), Saṃbhāla (=Sūrasena), Lāṃpāka (=Murunda), Toksāra (=Yugālīka), Jālaṃdhara (=Trigarta), Hala (=Kharatī), Pīatyagratha (=Ahicchatra), Tula (=Kalmgaka), Tarka (in which is Bālīhika), Vāhika (in which is Vālīhika), Kāśmīra (in which is Kīra), Turuska (in which is Śākhi), Sindhu (in which is Dārada), Kumālaka (=Sauvīra), Yaudheya (=Nrgālīka), Pārada, Kiñja, Kolya and other places.

Prācyā includes the janapadas Mudgaraka (=Kuja), Prāgyotyasa (=Kāmarūpa and Prāgjālīka), Videha (=Tirabhukti), Srāvastī (=Puramjaka), Rādha (=Suhma), Puṇḍra (=Varemdrī), Bhaurika (=Samatata), Aṅga (=Campā), Vaṅga (=Hankeli), Magadha (=Kikata), Andhra, Vrata, Sālva and others.

Dakṣiṇāpatha is the name of the country to the south of the Vindhya.

In it are the countries (deśa): Pāṇḍya (=Pāṃdriya), Kuntala (=Upahālaka), Cola (=Utpalāvarta), Mahārāṣṭra (=Daṇḍaka), Kerala, Kulya, Setuja, Kulakālaka, Isika, Śabara, Āratṭa, and other countries.

Aparāmta (also known as Pāścātya and Sūryāraka) includes Malada and other countries upto the Vindhya settlements. In it are the following:—

1 Edited by Gustav Oppert, Ph D., Madras, 1893.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Malada (=Sthaura), Karūśa (=Bṛhadgṛha), Traipura (=Hahāla, Caidya, and Cedi), Daśārṇa (=Vedīpara), Mālava (=Avanti), Mekala, Bhoja, Kośala and other countries.

Madhyadeśa includes the countries: Marava (=Daśeraka), Śālva (=Kāra-kutsīya, and whose six parts are Udumbara, Tilakhala, Mahākāra, Yugamdhara, Huliniga, and Śaradaṃḍa), Kuntala, Kulya, Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Kosala, Mekala, Kusata, Jāṃgala, Pṛthava (Pṛthu), Vrka, and Pataccara.

Names of cities Sāketa (=Ayodhyā and Kosalānandini), Dvārakā (=Dvāravatī), Madhurā (=Madhūsikā, Mathurā, Madhūpaghnā) situated in Śūrasena, Kauśa (=Kūśasthalī), Vārāṇasī (=Śivapurī, Vārāṇasī, and Kāśīkā), Mithilā (=Videha), Kanyākubja (=Mahodaya), Hastinī (=Hastinapura, Nāgāhva, and Hastināpura), Khāṇḍavaprastha, Jayantipura (=Āhuka), Avanti (=Takṣaśilā), Kakundī (=Vārāṇavata), Devīkoṭṭa (=Koṭīvarsa), Māhiṣmatī (=Vṛkasthalī).

The above geographical observations of *Vaiṣṇyanāṭi* may be compared with those made in Rājāśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*³ (c. A.D. 925), Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*⁴ (c. A.D. 1150), Puruṣottamadeva's *Trīkāṇḍaśeṣa*⁵ (twelfth century), and in other contemporary and nearly contemporary works in order to estimate their value.

Āryāvarta-Brahmavedi. Rājāśekhara and Hemacandra mention that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya, and it extends from the eastern ocean to the western ocean.⁶ Rājāśekhara elsewhere states⁷ that the Narmadā is the boundary between the Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to Hemacandra Brahmavedi is the territory between the five Rāma lakes.⁸ Bhuvaneśvar Inscription⁹ of Bhatta-Bhava-deva states that Rādhā is situated in Āryāvarta.

Udīcyā. According to *Vaiṣṇyanāṭi* it extended from Ramnagar, in Rohilkhand (Ahicchatra), to Lamghan (Lampaka) in Afghanistan. It appears from the Ghoshrawa inscription of Devapāla that Udīcīpatha and Uttarāpatha are identical.¹⁰ Rājāśekhara mentions Udīcyā as one of the four quarters (*daśab*). He places Uttarāpatha beyond Prthudaka,

3 Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. 1.

4 Ed. S. V. Dharmapuri, *Yashovijaya* Jaina Granthamālā (41), p. 379 ff.

5 Ed. C. A. Seelakkandha Bombay, 1916, p. 30. The earliest reference to Puruṣottamadeva is that by Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.) For further discussion cf. Intro XXII, *Kalpadrukṣa*, GOS, No. XLII.

6 *Kāvya*, p. 93.

7 *Bālarāmāyana*, Act VI.

8 *Abhi.*, p. 379.

9 *Ins. Bengal*, 36.

10 *Gaudalekhamālā*, 47, 49.

modern Pehoba, in the Karnal District, Punjab, and states that Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāna, Hūṇa, Vāṇāyuja, Kāmboja, Vālḥika, Valhava, Līmpāka, Kulūta, Kīra, Tangaṇa, Tuṣāra, Turuska, Barbara, Hurahūva, Hūhuka, Sahuḍa, Haṃsamārga, Ramaṭha, Karakaṇṭha etc., are situated in it.¹¹ Hemacandra agrees with Yādavaprakāśa in placing it to the north-west of Sarāvātī.¹² An inscription, dated 1107 A.D., relates that Banjsthana (Madhukarghar, in the Bundi State, Rajputana) lay in the extremity of Dakṣiṇ and Udīcya-deśa.¹³

Gāndhāra-Dhanda Gāndhāra is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla.¹⁴

Yavana-Huruṣkara. Yavana is referred to in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla. Rājasekhara places Yavana country in Paścād-deśa.¹⁵

Sambhāla-Sūrasena Sūrasena was the country in which Mathurā was situated.¹⁶ Rājasekhara refers to Sūrasena.¹⁷

Lampaka-Murunda. Hemacandra also states that Lampaka is Murunda.¹⁸ Rājasekhara seems to be referring to Lampaka as Līmpaka.¹⁹ Murunda is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta along with Daivaputra Sāhi Sahānusāhi and Śaka.²⁰ Lampaka is the modern Lamghan in Afghanistan.

Toksāra-Yugālīka. Toksāra seems to be identical with Tusāra, mentioned by Rājasekhara.²¹ It is identified with upper Oxus valley, including Balkh and Badakshan.

Jālamdhara-Trigarta. Hemacandra agrees with *Vaṇayanti* on this point. Purusottama mentions Trigartaka as another name of Takka. An inscription from Baijnath states that Jālamdhara is identical with Trigarta.²²

Pratyagratha-Ahicchatra. *Vaṇayanti* finds support in Hemacandra.²³ It is identified with Ramnagar, in the Bareilly District.

11 *Kāvya*, 94

12 *Abhi*, p. 380

13 Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 159

14 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 14 Cf. Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, vol. I, p. 193. *Gandhārāmāṇḍala*

15 *Ibid.*, *Kāvya*, 94 Cf. Yavana-pura N. L. Dey, *Geo Dic*

16 *Vaṇayanti*, p. 37, v. 25 17 *Kāvya*, 8, 50 18 *Abhi*, p. 383

19 *Kāvya*, 94 20 *CII*, 8 21 *Kāvya*, 94

22 *Abhi*, p. 382, *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31, *El*, I, 116, 117

23 *Abhi*, p. 383 The early Jaina literature states that Ahicchatra is in Jāṅgala (*I.A.* XX, 375). But Hemacandra makes it clear that Pratyagratha, otherwise called Ahicchatra, is distinct from Jāṅgala or Nirjala (*Abhi*, p. 380).

Ṭarka-Bālhika Rājasekhara refers to Ṭakka and Vālhika.²⁴ Hemacandra differs from Yādavaprakāśa. He states that Ṭakka is another name of Vāhika, and Vālhika is distinct from it.²⁵ Ṭakka is the country round Sialkot, in the Punjab. Puruṣottama mentions Bālhika and Trigartaka as different names of Ṭakka.²⁶

Vāhika-Vālhika Rājasekhara also distinguishes Vāhika from Bālhika.²⁷ Hemacandra reports that Vālhika is an alternative form of Vāhika.²⁸

Kāśmīra Kīra Rājasekhara places Kīra in Uttarāpatha, and locates Kāśmīra elsewhere.²⁹ Puruṣottama mentions that Kīra is in Kāśmīra. Hemacandra states that Mādhumata, Sārasvata and Vikarnika are the other names of Kāśmīra.³⁰ Kīra is identified with the Kangra valley, in the Punjab.

Turuṣka-Sākhi Rājasekhara refers to Turuṣka.³¹ Hemacandra mentions Sākhi as the second name of Turuska.³² Puruṣottama states that Khaśa is same as Turuṣka.³³

Sindhu-Dārada Sindhu is to be located to the north of Kashmir, as the Dārada country was situated in it.

Kumālaka-Sauvīra Varjayanti's report is supported by Hemacandra.³⁴ It is identified with Multan.

Cīna-Kharambhara, Hala-Kharatī, Tula-Kaliṅgaka, Yaudheya-Nṛgālika, Pārada Kiṅja, and Kūlya are not mentioned by the authorities referred to above.

Prācyā Varjayanti's statement regarding the location of Prācyā agrees with Hemacandra.³⁵ Rājasekhara mentions Prācyā or Prāci as one of the four quarters, which includes the countries Anga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc.³⁶ According to him Pūrva-deśa is beyond Vārānaśi. In it are situated—Āṅga, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha, Nepāla, Puṇḍra, Prāgyyotiśa, Tāmaliptaka, Malada, Mallavartaka, Suhma, Brahmottara, etc.³⁷ Puruṣottama makes a confusion between Madhya-deśa and Pūrva-deśa.³⁸

24 *Kāvya*, p. 51, 94.

26 *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31

28 *Abhi*, p. 383.

30 *Abhi*, p. 382. *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31

32 *Abhi*, p. 383.

34 *Abhi*, p. 383

36 *Kāvya*, pp. 94, 98.

25 *Abhi*, p. 382, 383

27 *Kāvya*, p. 8

29 *Kāvya*, pp. 94, 98

31 *Kāvya*, p. 94

33 *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31

35 *Abhi*, p. 380

37 *Kāvya*, p. 94. 38 *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31

Mudgaraka-Kuṣa Rājaśekhara mentions it as Mudgara.³⁹ It is to be identified with Mudgalagiri or Mudgagiri, modern Munghyr.⁴⁰

Prāgyyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa-Prāgyālika. Rājaśekhara mentions Prāgyyotiṣa as a country and Kāmarūpa as a mountain.⁴¹ Hemacandra agrees with *Vaṣṭyaṇṣi* that Kāmarūpa is another name of Prāgyyotiṣa.⁴² Purusottama states that Prāgyyotiṣa is in Kāmarūpa.⁴³ Vaidyadeva's Kamauli plate mentions that Kāmarūpa-Manḍala is in Prāgyyotiṣa-Bhukti.⁴⁴

Videha-Tirabhukti. Rājaśekhara refers to the country of Videha.⁴⁵ Purusottama states that Nicchavi (Licchavi?) and Videha are the alternative names of Tirabhukti.⁴⁶ Hemacandra mentions Videha as a city.⁴⁷ *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa* locates Tirabhukti on the north bank of the Ganges.⁴⁸ A miniature label in a Nepal Mss. of the eleventh century lays down that Vaiśālī is situated in Tirabhukti.⁴⁹

Srāvastī-Puraṃyaka Srāvastī is mentioned in the inscriptions of this period.

Rādhā-Suhma Rājaśekhara refers to Suhma, and distinguishes it from Tāmaliptaka.⁵⁰ It is known from Hemacandra and Purusottama that Dāmalipta, Tāmaliptī, Tāmaliṇī, Stambapū, Viṣṇugṛha, Velākūla, Tāmālika are the other names of the city of Tāmalipta.⁵¹ Daṇḍin in his *Dāsakumāravarṇa*⁵² states that the city of Dāmalipta is situated in Rādhā. Dhoyī in his *Pavana-dūta* mentions that Suhma is on the bank of the Ganges.⁵³ Nilakantha in his commentary on *Mahābhārata* lays down that Suhma is identical with Rādhā.⁵⁴ The Sonpur grant⁵⁵ of Mahāśivagupta distinguishes Rādhā from Gauḍa. *Prabodhacandrodaya* and two inscriptions of the twelfth century state that Rādhā is in Gauḍa-deśa.⁵⁶

Pundra-Varendrī The country of Pundra formed a part of the Pundravardhana-Bhukti, which included also Vanga and Samatata. The Silimpur inscription⁵⁷ states that the village Vālagrāma, the ornament of

39 *Kāvya*, p. 93

41 *Kāvya*, p. 93.

43 *Trikaṇḍa*, p. 31.

45 *Kāvya*, p. 93

47 *Abhi*, p. 389

49 Foucher, *Icono*, I, p. 197

51 *Abhi*, p. 391; *Trikaṇḍa*, p. 31

53 *JASB*, 1905, pp. 45-57

55 *JBORS*, II, 45-49

57 *El.*, XIII, 283

40 Cf N L Dey's *Geo. Dictionary*

42 *Abhi*, p. 381

44 *Gandalekhamālā*, p. 134

46 *Trikaṇḍa*, p. 31

48 T Ganapati Sastri, p. 282

50 *Kāvya*, p. 93

52 Ed Jiv and Vid V p. 244

54 Sabhā P, Ch. XXIX

56 *Ins Madras Presidency*, vol I, p. 353, Cg. 248.

Varendrī, is situated in Puṇḍra. It is known from *Rāma-carita*⁵⁸ that the village Br̥hadvaṭu is the crest-jewel of Varendrī, and is attached to Puṇḍra-vardhanapura. It will follow from these sources that the country of Puṇḍra-vardhana was either identical with Varendrī or included it, in which was situated the city of Puṇḍravardhana. The *Karatoyā-mābātmya*⁵⁹ states that the people of Puṇḍra purified themselves by taking their bath in the Karatoyā. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*⁶⁰ mentions *Puṇḍrāb syur Varendrī Gauḍa nīvṛtib*. Some take it to mean—Puṇḍra is Varendrī and Gauḍa is Nīvṛti. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa*⁶¹ mentions Gauḍa and Puṇḍra side by side. But the above statement of *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* may also be taken to mean that Varendrī, Gauḍa and Nīvṛti are the other names of Puṇḍra. Gauḍa cannot be taken to be distinct from Puṇḍra-Varendrī. *Rājatarāṅginī*⁶² mentions that the city of Puṇḍra-vardhana was the seat of the king of Gauḍa. *Rāma-carita* mentions Varendrī as the paternal kingdom of Rāmapāla. It elsewhere mentions Rāmapāla as the king of Gauḍa.⁶³ The *Purāṇsarvasva*⁶⁴ states that Varendrī was situated in Gauḍa. The Kollagalu inscription,⁶⁵ dated A.D. 967, reports that Gadādhara was the crest-jewel of Gauḍa and the illuminator of Varendrī.

Bhaurika-Samataṭa. It is known from the Baghaura inscription⁶⁶ that the Tipperah District was in Samataṭa. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa* states that Samotadya (Samataṭa?) is to the east of Lohitya. The same authority elsewhere mentions Sāmataṭa and Sāmātata.⁶⁷

Vaṅga-Harikela. Vikrampur in the Dacca District and Ramasiddhi in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Bakarganj District were in Vaṅga.⁶⁸ So it may be assumed that the Dacca, Faridpur, and part of Bakarganj Districts were situated in Vaṅga. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa* mentions that Vangaka is to the east of Lauhitya. It elsewhere states that Vanga-deśa was on the bank of the Lauhitya.⁶⁹ Vaṅgaka is identical with Vanga. Jayamangala in his commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* places Vanga to the east of Lauhitya.⁷⁰ But in view of the fact that Vikrampur was to the west of Lauhitya, the above statement of *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa* and Jayamangala

58 *Kaus Pr.*, V. 1.

60 P. 31

62 *Gauḍa-rājāśrayam*—*nagaram* *Paundravardhanam*—B.K. IV, v 421

63 Ch. I, vs. 38, 39, *Kaus Pr.*, v 11

64 Aufrecht *Cat.*, p. 87.

66 *El.*, XVII

68 *Ins Bengal*, 130, 177.

70 *Vaṅgā Lauhityāi pūrveṇa*

59 *Skanda Purāṇa*

61 T G Sastri, p. 232

65 *El.*, XXI, 264

67 T Sastri, pp. 206, 232, 332.

69 T G Sastri, pp. 206, 335.

cannot be accepted as correct.⁷¹ *Matsya-Purāṇa*⁷² reports that the Ganges passes by Kauśika, Magadha, Brahmottara, Vaṅga and Tāmralipta. Vaṅga may be taken to have been the country between the Ganges and the Meghna.

Harikela,⁷³ Harikelā,⁷⁴ Harikelī,⁷⁵ Harikella,⁷⁶ Harikeli⁷⁷ and Harikola⁷⁸ are synonymous terms. Yādavaprakāśa's statement that Harikelī is the same as Vaṅga finds support in Hemacandra.⁷⁹ Rāmpāl plate⁸⁰ of Śrīcandra seems to be corroborating the above statement of Yādavaprakāśa. The inscription states that Śrīcandra's father, Trailokyacandra, who was the king of Harikela, became the ruler of Candradvīpa. This suggests that Harikela was contiguous to Candradvīpa. Candradvīpa was situated in the southern part of the Bakarganj District. Śrīcandra was the ruler of Vanga, and he and his predecessors are not known to have ever held sway over the territory to the east of the Meghna. So the normal conclusion will be that Trailokyacandra, the king of Vaṅga-Harikela, annexed Candradvīpa to his kingdom.

*Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa*⁸¹ refers to Vanga, Samatāta, Harikela, Kalasamukha, and Carmaraṅga side by side. This may be taken to be distinguishing Vaṅga from Harikela. But *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa*'s statements are not always reliable. It mentions Vidiśā, Mālava, and Daśārṇa side by side.⁸² It will be wrong to assume that Vidiśā was distinct from Mālava and Daśārṇa.⁸³

Aṅga-Campā. Rājaśekhara refers to Aṅga. Hemacandra mentions

71 The Jaina *Upāṅga Prajñāpana* mentions that Tāmralipta was situated in Vanga. The same authority again tells us that Kotivarṇa was situated in Rādhā (*Koḍivarnasam va Lādhāya*) 1A, XX, 375. So no importance should be attached to the above statements of this authority.

72 Ch. 120, v. 43-52. Bangavāsī ed., p. 360. 73 Rāmpāl Pl., *Ins. Beng.* 4.

74 Chittagong Pl. of Kāntideva, *Modern Review*, 1922.

75 *Kalpadrakośa*, Gaek. Or. S., vol. I, No. XLII, p. 7.

76 Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique l'Inde*, vol. I, p. 200.

77 Hemacandra, *Abbi*, 382, *Vajrayanti*.

78 Dacca University Mss. 79 *Abbi*, p. 382. 80 *Ins. Beng.* p. 4.

81 T. G. Sastri, pp. 232, 233.

82 *Ibid.*, 332.

83 I-tsing places Samatāta in Eastern India, and states that Harikela is the eastern limit of Eastern India (Beal's *Life*, Intro XXXI). This will place Harikela to the east of Comilla. *Kalpadrakośa*, (*op. cit.*) a work of the seventeenth century, states that Śrīhatta is Harikelī. This finds support in a Dacca University Mss. of the same period. Another Mss. of Dacca University mentions Harikola and Śrīhatta as identical. (I am thankful to Mr. S. C. Banerji, M.A., of the Mss. Section of the D. U. Library for drawing my attention to the above statement of *Kalpadrakośa*.)

that Āṅga is indicated by Campā.⁸⁴ Both Hemacandra and Puruṣottama state that Mālinī is the other name of the (city) of Campā⁸⁵ Āṅga is identified with Bhagalpur

Magadha-Kikata Hemacandra and Puruṣottama support *Vaijyanṭī*.⁸⁶ Rājasekhara states that Magadha is to the east of Vārāṇasī.⁸⁷

Andhra An inscription⁸⁸ from the Andhra country calls Vijayāditya III, king of Andhra, as the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta also places Andhra in Dakṣiṇāpatha.⁸⁹

Vaijyanṭī also places Salya in Madhyadeśa Kuja and Vrata are not found mentioned in any contemporary record

Dakṣiṇāpatha Rājasekhara places Dakṣiṇāpatha to the south of Māhismatī. Countries, situated in it, are Mahārāstra, Māhīśaka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakāśīka, Sūrparaka, Kāñcī, Kerala, Kāvera, Murala, Vanavāsaka, Simhala, Coḍa, Dandaka, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Gaṅga, Nāsikya, Koṅkana, Kollagiri, Kallara etc. It⁹⁰ included Mahendra mountain A miniature label in a Mss. from Nepal of the eleventh century states that Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram) is in Dakṣiṇāpatha⁹¹

Kuntala-Upahālaka Hemacandra supports *Vaijyanṭī*⁹²

Cola-Utpalāvarta Cola is identical with Coda, mentioned by Rājasekhara. According to the same authority Utpalāvartī is the name of a river in Dakṣiṇāpatha.⁹³ This river is the modern Vyapar, in the Tennevally District.

Mahārāṣṭra-Dandaka Rājasekhara distinguishes Mahārāṣṭra from Dandaka

Kerala According to Hemacandra Oṇḍra is the same as Kerala.⁹⁴

Kulya, Setuja, Kulakālaka, Isīka, and Āratṭa are not mentioned in the contemporary records *Mahābhārata* places Āratṭa in the Punjab⁹⁵

Aparānta-Pāścātya-Sūryāraka. Rājasekhara refers to Pāścād-deśa, which lay beyond Devasabhā, and which included Devasabhā, Surāstra, Daśeraka, Travaṇa, Bhrgukaccha, Kacchīya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmanavāha, Yavana

84 *Abbi*, p. 382

86 *Abbi*, 383; *Trikāṇḍa* 31

88 *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1938

90 *Kāvya*, p. 93

92 *Abbi*, 383

94 *Abbi*, 383

96 *Kāvya*, p. 94

85 *Ibid*, 300, *Trikāṇḍa*, 3-

87 *Kāvya*, p. 33

89 *CII*, 8

91 Foucher, *Icon Bond Inde*, I, p. 201

93 *Kāvya*, p. 93

95 Cf N L Dey's *Geo Dic*

Malada-Sihaura. Rājasekhara places Malada in Pūrva-deśa.⁹⁷

Karūṣa-Bṛhadgrha. Hemacandra and Purusottama support *Vaṣṣayantī*.⁹⁸ Rājasekhara mentions Bṛhadgrha as the name of a mountain in Pūrva-deśa.⁹⁹

Traipura-Habāla-Caidya-Cedi. Hemacandra¹⁰⁰ mentions that Dāhala and Caidya are the other names of Tripura. According to Puruṣottama Caidya is the same as Dāhala.¹⁰¹

Daśārṇa-Veḍṣpara. An inscription from Kalinjar mentions the Candella Paramārdi as the king of Daśārṇa.¹⁰²

Mālava-Avanti. Hemacandra and Purusottama support *Vaṣṣayantī*.¹⁰³ Kings of the Paramāra dynasty, who ruled from Dhārā and Ujjain, are mentioned as kings of Mālava.¹⁰⁴ Kāmasūtra's commentator Jayamaṅgala, who flourished later than the fourteenth century, states that Āvantika, which is identical with Ujjayinī-deśa, is apara-Mālava.¹⁰⁵ This has led some writers to suggest that Mālava proper is Daśārṇa. Jayamaṅgala's geographical knowledge is not perfect. It has already been noticed that he places Vaṅga to the east of Lauhitya. His remark on Mālava is to be rejected as it runs counter to the earlier authorities. Rājasekhara mentions Mālava Avanti and Vidiśā, and Mañjuśrī mentions Mālava, Vidiśā and Daśārṇa side by side.¹⁰⁶

Bhoja Bhoja is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla.

Vaṣṣayantī also places Mekala and Kosala in Madhya-deśa.

Madhya-deśa Rājasekhara states that Madhya-deśa lies between Uttarāpatha, Pūrva-deśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Paścād-deśa. It extends from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, and from Vināśana to Prayāga.¹⁰⁷ Hemacandra agrees with Rājasekhara in regard to the extent of Madhyadeśa.¹⁰⁸

97 *Kāvya*, p. 93, cf. N. L. Dey's *Geo Dic*

98 *Abhi*, 383, *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31

99 *Kāvya*, p. 93

100 *Abhi*, 381

101 *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31.

102 Cunningham, *ASI*, XXI, 37

103 *Abhi*, 381, *Trikāṇḍa*, 31

104 *Author's History of the Paramāra Dynasty*

105 *Vaṅgā Lauhityāt pūrvana/ Angā Mahānadyāb pūrvana/ Kalṅgā Gauda-
Viṣayāddakṣiṇena/ Vāhika deśyā Uttarāpathikāb/ Āvantikā Ujjayinī deśa bhavāb/
tā evāpara Mālavayab/ paścima samudra samīpe Aparānta deśab/ apara Mālava
paścimena Lata-Viṣayab/ . . Narmadā Karnāta Viṣayayormadhye Mahārāstra-
Viṣaya/----*

106 *Kāvya*, p. 9, T. G. Sastri

107 *Kāvya*, 94

108 *Abhi*, 379

Purusottama lays down that Kuruksetra is Vinasana.¹⁰⁹ *Vaijayantī* differs from the above authorities and includes Kaliṅga and Kuntala in Madhya-deśa.

Marava-Daśeraka. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.¹¹⁰ Purusottama states that Marubhuva is an alternative name of Daśeraka.¹¹¹ Rājaśekhara places Daśeraka in Paścād-deśa. It is to be identified with Marwar.

Sālua-Kārahutsīya. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.¹¹²

Udumbara. Udumbara-Viṣaya, which was situated in the Kālāñjara-Maṇḍala, has been mentioned in the Barah copper plate of the Pratihāra Bhoja.¹¹³

Rājaśekhara places Kalinga and Kosala in Pūrvadeśa and Mekala mountain in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Pārthaparākrama mentions the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja III, as the king of Jāṅgala.¹¹⁴

Sāketa-Ayodhyā-Kosalānandini. Hemacandra states that Kosala and Ayodhyā are also known as Sāketa.¹¹⁵ According to Purusottama Ayodhyā, and Uttara-Kosala, and Sāketa indicate the same countries.¹¹⁶ Candtavati plate¹¹⁷ of the Gāhadavāla Candradeva lays down that Ayodhyā is identical with Uttara-Kosala.

Dvārakā-Dvāravatī. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.¹¹⁸ Purusottama states that Abdhinagarī is Dvāravatī, and Dvārakā is Vanamālīnī.¹¹⁹

Madhurā-Madhuṣkā-Mathurā-Madhupaghna. Hemacandra reports that Madhurā and Madhupaghna are the other names of Mathurā.¹²⁰ According to Purusottama Mathurā is Madhupaghna.¹²¹

Vaijayantī distinguishes Kauśa-Kuśasthali from Kānyakubja-Mahodaya. But Hemacandra mentions that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura, Kauśa, and Kuśasthala are the alternative names.¹²² According to Purusottama, Kuśasthala is Kānyakubja.¹²³

Vārāṇasī-Sivapurī-Vārāṇasī-Kāśīkā. Hemacandra remarks that Kāśī, arāṇasī, Vārāṇasī and Sivapurī are the different names.¹²⁴ Purusottama states

109 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32

110 *Abbi*, 382

111 *Trikāṇḍa*, 31

112 *Abbi*, 382

113 *El*, XIX, 15.

114 *Kāvya*, Gack. Or S No IV p 3.

115 *Abbi*, 389.

116 *Trikāṇḍa*, 31

117 *El*, XIV, 193

118 *Abbi*, 391

119 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32

120 *Abbi*, 390

121 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32

122 *Abbi*, 389

123 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32.

124 *Abbi*, 389.

that Vārāṇasī is Tīrtharāja.¹²⁵ *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* and some Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions mention Kāśī as a city.¹²⁶ The Nanyaura plate of the Candella Dhaṅga refers to Kāśikā.¹²⁷

Mithilā-Videha. Both Hemacandra and Purusottama support *Vaṣṭyanti*.¹²⁸

Hastinī-Hastinapura-Nāgābhva-Hastināpura Hemacandra mentions that Hastinapura, Hastinīpura, Gajābhva, and Hastināpura are identical.¹²⁹ Puruṣottama remarks that Hastināpura and Gajābhva are the other names of Nāgābhva.¹³⁰

Avantī-Takṣaśilā Hemacandra reports that Viśālā, Avantī, and Puṣkarandīnī are the other names of Ujjayanti.¹³¹ *Vaṣṭyanti* is not supported by any other authority.

Devikotta-Kaṭivarṣa Hemacandra¹³² lays down that Koṭivarṣa, Bāṇapura, Devikota, Umāvana, and Sonitapura are identical. Puruṣottama agrees with Hemacandra except that he mentions Usāvana in place of Umāvanta.¹³³ Manahali grant of Madanapāla refers to Kotivarṣa-Viṣaya.¹³⁴ Kotivarṣa is identified with Bangadh in the Dinajpur District, Bengal.

Māhismatī-Vṛkṣasthalī The Paramāra Devapāla granted lands from his camp at Māhismatī, which is identified with Mandhata on the Narmada.¹³⁵ Rājasekhara refers to Māhismatī beyond which lay Dakṣināpatha.¹³⁶

Kakundā-Vāranāvata and Khāṇḍavapiastha are not mentioned elsewhere.

It will follow from the above discussion that Yādevaprakāśa's observations on the ancient geography of India are fairly accurate. It is interesting to note that some of the countries and their different names mentioned by him, do not find place in the works of his contemporaries. The importance of the *Vaṣṭyanti* for the knowledge in ancient geography of India can hardly be overestimated.

D. C. GANGULY

125 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32

126 T. G. Sastri, p. 642, *El.*, IV, 124-128

127 *Id.*, XVI, 203

129 *Abbi*, 390.

131 *Abbi*, 390 (Rājasekhara mentions Hastināpura as a *janapada* *Kāvya*, p. 8)

132 *Ibid.*, 390

130 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32

133 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32

134 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 147

135 *El.*, IX, 103

136 *Kāvya*, 93

Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels

Many a Jewish legend can be traced to an Indian source. In this paper I propose to narrate some tales of Ancient Israel and their parallels with a view to indicate their Indian origin.

I PERVERSE JUDGMENT

A *Judges of Sodom*

The judges of Sodom were notorious for giving perverse decisions based on an equally perverse code of laws. The following are some of the examples

(a) 1 The possessor of one ox had to find pasture for the day for all the cattle of the town, the poor man who had no ox had to do it for five days.

(b) 2 If a man cut off the ear of another man's donkey, he was compelled to keep and feed the animal until the ear had healed.

(c) 3 If in a quarrel a man hurt another and drew blood, the wounded man had to pay his assailant for the service he had rendered him by bleeding him, which they maintained, was a medical operation

Of course clever men could by their intelligence retaliate by the "hoist-with-his-own-petard" method.

A S Rappoport in the Introduction (p xxxiii) to his *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (Vol I) says. "Benfey (*Pantshatantra* I pp 402-3) calls attention to a tale by Lutfullah in which the judge follows the method of the judges of Sodom. In the third century of the Hegira there lived in Cairo a judge of the name of Mansur ben Musa. (a) 4 A soldier had borrowed money from a Jew and given the latter a bill wherein he promised him a pound of his flesh should he be unable to pay. When the day of payment arrives, the soldier finds himself unable to pay his debt, the Jew wants to drag him before the judge, and the soldier escapes. (b) 5 In his flight he jostles against a pregnant woman whom he knocks down and she miscarries, (c) 6 He runs against a rider, gives his horse a blow and knock out the latter's eye. (d) 7 He runs, climbs up upon a

hut, falls through the roof and kills a man. The Jew, the cousin of the pregnant woman, the rider, and the son of the man who had been killed, catch the soldier and bring him before the judge (c) 8 In front of the latter's house they see a drunken man, whilst another man, still alive, is being buried. The judge now pronounces the following sentences:

(a) 4 With regard to the Jew, he decides in the (well-known) Shakesperian fashion, namely

Therefore prepare thee to cut off the flesh
Shed thou no blood, nor cut thou less or more,
But just a pound of flesh, if thou cut'st more
... ..
Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.

--*The Merchant of Venice* IV 1.

(b) 5 With regard to the woman, the soldier is to live so long with her until she has another child.

(c) 6 As for the rider, who was asking half the price of the horse which he valued at 200 gold pieces, the judge decrees that the horse be cut lengthwise into two equal halves, the undamaged half being kept by the owner, whilst the damaged be given to the soldier, who, however, should pay 100 gold pieces to the rider

(d) 7 As for the son whose father the soldier had killed, the son is to get upon the roof of the hut, fall down upon the soldier and thus kill him. Naturally, all the plaintiffs withdraw their claims.

(e) 8 As for the man who was being buried alive, two witnesses had testified that he had died, but he had now returned. As the two witnesses had confirmed their statement that the man had really died, it could not be his real self but a ghost, and in order to put an end to the discussion, the judge had ordered the man to be buried.

B. *A Tale from the Kathāsartsāgara*

Now, here is a story from the *Kathāsartsāgara* (Bk. xii, ch. 72, vol. II. p. 180 of C. H. Tawney's translation) which seems to have been the (nearest) inspirer of the Sodom judgment.

The story of Devabhūti tells 9 how the excellent wife of the learned Brahman of that name went into the kitchen garden to get vegetables, and saw a donkey belonging to a washerman eating them. So she took up

a stick and ran after the donkey, and the animal fell into a pit.....and broke its hoof. When its master heard of that, he came in a passion and beat with a stick and kicked the Brahman woman. 10 Accordingly she, being pregnant, had a miscarriage. but the washerman returned home with his donkey. Then her husband complained to the chief magistrate of the town. The foolish man immediately had the washerman, whose name was Batasura, brought before him, and delivered this judgment: 9 "Since the donkey's hoof is broken, let the Brahman carry the donkey's load for the washerman until the donkey is again fit for work, 10 and let the washerman make the Brahman's wife pregnant again, since he made her miscarry. The Brahman and his wife in their despair took poison and died. The king put to death the inconsiderate judge.

C *A Russian Tale*

There is a story well-known in Russia under the title of "Shemyakin Sud" or "Shemyaka's Judgment" derived from literary sources, with a variant given by Afanasief¹ ("Shazki," V. no. 19) 11 A poor man borrowed from his rich brother a pair of oxen, with which he ploughed his plot of ground. Coming away from the field he met an old man, who asked to whom the oxen belonged. "To my brother," was the reply. "Your brother is rich and stingy," said the old man, "Choose which you will, either his son shall die or his oxen." The poor man thought and thought. He was sorry both for the oxen and for his brother's son. At last he said, "Better let the oxen die." "Be it as you wish," said the old man. When the poor man reached his home the oxen suddenly fell down dead. The rich brother accused him of having worked them to death, and carried him off to the king. 12 On his way to the king's court the poor man accidentally sat down upon a baby and killed it. 13 and tried to commit suicide by jumping off a bridge but only succeeded in crushing an old man whose son was taking him into the river for a bath. 14 He had also had the misfortune to pull off a horse's tail without meaning it. When summoned before the court for all these involuntary offences, he took a stone in his pocket tied up in a handkerchief, and stealthily produced it when he was held up before the judge, saying to himself, "If the judge goes against me I will kill him with this." 15 The judge fancied that the stone was a bribe of a

1 Schiefner and Ralston—*Tibetan Tales*, Intro pp XL ff.

hundred roubles which the defendant wished to offer him, so he gave judgment in his favour in each case. 14 The poor man was to keep his brother's horse until its tail grew again, 12 to marry the woman whose child he had crushed, and 13 to stand under the bridge from which he had jumped and allow the son of the man he had killed to jump off the bridge on to him. The owner of the horse, the husband of the woman, and the son of the crushed man were all glad to buy off the culprit whom they had brought up for judgment 15 "The satirical turn of the story and the allusion to bribe-taking are characteristic features of the Russian variants of this well-known Eastern tale "

D. *A Tibetan Tale* (Ādarśamukha, no. 3. of *T.T.*).

16 A Brahman named Dandin borrowed a pair of oxen from a householder. After ploughing his land, he went with the oxen to the householder's dwelling. As the man was at his dinner, Dandin let the oxen go to their stall, but they went out again by another door. When the householder had finished his meal, he found that the oxen had disappeared, he seized Dandin and asked where the oxen were. Dandin replied, "Did I not bring them back to your house?" The other accused him of having stolen them and asked him to come to King Ādarśamukha for judgment. They set out on their way.

17 A man from whom a mare had run away called out to Dandin to stop her. He asked how he was to stop her. The man told him to do so in any way he could. Dandin picked up a stone and flung it at the mare's head, and thereby killed her. The man brought him to the king.

18 Dandin tried to run away. As he sprang down from a wall, he fell upon a weaver who was at his work below, in consequence of which the weaver died. The weaver's wife wanted Dandin to restore her husband to him and brought him to the king for judgment.

19 They came to a deep river. Dandin asked a carpenter who was fording it with an axe in his mouth regarding the river's depth. In replying the carpenter let drop his axe and accused Dandin of having flung his axe into it.

20 By and by they who were leading Dandin along came to a drinking house. In it Dandin sat down upon the landlady's new-born babe, which was lying asleep under a dress, and killed it. The woman wanted Dandin to return it to her and brought him to the king.

[21 On their way Dandin was successively requested by a crow, some gazelles, a partridge, a snake, a snake and ichneumon and a young wife to take charge of commission from each of them and get for them a satisfactory explanation of their queries. He assented].

16 The king asked the house-holder, "Did you see the oxen or did you not see them? Did Dandin drive your oxen into the stalls?"

"Yes, O king."

The king said, "As Dandin gave this man no information, his tongue shall be cut off. As this man did not tie up his oxen, his eyes shall be put out."

The complainant who had lost his oxen and was now losing his eyes withdrew his suit.

17 The king said, "As this man told him he might stop the mare by any means whatsoever, his tongue shall be cut off, but Dandin shall have his hand cut off, because he thought it impossible to stop the mare except by throwing a stone at her." The man who had lost his mare and was now going to lose his tongue did not press the suit.

18 The king said to the weaver's wife, "Then you shall receive this man as your husband." The woman withdrew her complaint.

19. The king ordered the carpenter's tongue to be cut off for he had spoken in the middle of the river, and Dandin's eyes to be put out as he though seeing the river was deep asked the carpenter if it was so. The carpenter dropped the suit.

20 The king said, "As the landlady left her child sleeping with a dress completely hiding it, her hand shall be cut off, but Dandin shall have his eyes put out, because he sat down upon an unfamiliar seat without making an investigation."

The authors remark in the foot-note that the "Tibetan tale is from Kah-gyur, book II, pp. 198-201. We have here a simpler and at the same time more concrete recension of ch. xxxi of the *Danglun*." The older version of the story is to be found in *Gāmanī Candā Jātaka* (II no. 257), where Prince *Ādāsamukha* (*Ādarśamukha*, Mirror-face) gives decisions.

E. A Pālī-Buddhist Jātaka (Gāmanī Candā)

22. *Gāmanī-Candā*, an old servant of the royal family, retired from the service and came to live in a village. As he had no oxen for farming, he borrowed two oxen from a friend, and after the day's ploughing

brought them to the owner's house to return them. The oxen entered the house. Gāmanī saw that he and his friend were eating, but as they did not invite him, he went away without formally making over his charge. During night the oxen were stolen. The man wanted to make Gāmanī responsible. Gāmanī was now being led away to the king's court for judgment. 23 On the way he entered the house of a friend to get some food. The friend was absent. His wife asked him to wait till she prepared food for him. As she climbed the ladder to the grainstore in haste, she missed her footing and fell down. She was seven months with child—a miscarriage followed.

24 On their way to the court they saw a horse at the village gate running away. The groom who could not stop it cried out, "Uncle Caṇḍa-Gāmanī, hit the horse with something and lead him back." Gāmanī hit the horse with a stone he picked up. The stone broke the horse's leg. He was charged with tort. He was now three men's prisoner.

25 Gāmanī thought that there was no escape for him and wanted to commit suicide by falling from the precipice of a hill in the wood hard by the road. He threw himself down from the precipice but fell on the elder of the two basket-makers underneath and killed him on the spot. He was forthwith charged by the other with murder.

The king Mirror-face decided thus

22 "Now, Caṇḍa, you failed to return the oxen, and therefore you are his debtor for them. But this man, in saying that he has not seen them, told a direct lie. Therefore you with your own hands shall pluck his eyes out, and you shall yourself pay him twentyfour pieces of money as the price of the oxen."

23 The Prince asked Caṇḍa to live with the woman till she had another child.

24 "This man told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to hold back the horse. You may tear out his tongue and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price which I will give you."

25 "Caṇḍa, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your house and do you be a father to him."

[21 On his way to the court Caṇḍa was charged with commission from some animals and a young man to explain why certain strange things happened. This episode was borrowed by the *TT*]

F. A JAIN TALE FROM THE NANDISŪTRA

Gone ghodagapadaṇaṃ ca rukkhāo

26 A certain unlucky man found that whatever he did, turned out to his disadvantage invariably. Now on one occasion he begged of his friend the loan of a pair of bullocks, and with them he ploughed (his land), one day in the afternoon he brought them back and left them in the enclosure (*vāṭaka*). His friend (too) was engaged in eating, therefore he did not go near him, the friend saw the bullocks with his eyes. Taking for granted that his friend had seen the bullocks he went home, the bullocks, however, issuing out of the enclosure strayed elsewhere and were stolen by thieves. Then the owner of the bullocks asked that unlucky wretch for (the restoration of) the bullocks but he was unable to give them back. Then he was led away to the court. 27 While he was on the road, a certain man mounted on a horse was coming towards him. He was thrown down by the horse, who started fleeing. The owner called out, "Strike him with a stick." The unlucky man struck the horse but in a vital part, thereby causing his death. This man also arrested him. 28 When they came to the town, they found that the court had already risen. Therefore they encamped outside the city. There many men belonging to the Nāṭa tribe were staying, all asleep. The unlucky man thought that there was no escape for him from that ocean of danger and wanted to commit suicide by tying a noose round his neck and hanging from the tree. But the piece of cloth which he made into a noose round his neck was of worn-out strands, and therefore being extremely weak, broke. Now he fell upon the old chief (*mahattara*) of the Natas, who was sleeping underneath, his whole weight having descended upon his neck he killed him forthwith. So the Natas also seized him and all went to court the following morning. They related their respective cases. The Kumārāmātya asked the wretch about the incidents. With a pitiful countenance he admitted the truth of all. Then the Kumārāmātya took compassion on him and gave the following verdict. 26 This man will give you the two bullocks, but he will pluck out your eyes, this man became debtless the very moment that you saw with your eyes the two bullocks; had you not seen them with your eyes then he would not return home, for never does he who has come for making over any thing to any body return home by leaving behind the thing (to be made over) without having reported the matter (i.e. made it known) to him." Then he summoned the

second complainant, the owner of the horse and said to him. "27. This man will give you the horse, but he will cut out your tongue, for it is your tongue which said, 'Strike the horse with stick,' it is only then that he struck the horse, otherwise he would not have done it." Then he told the Naṭas. "28. This man has got nothing with him that I may cause him to give you. But this much I am doing this man will stand underneath, let some chief of yours tie himself to the tree by means of a noose round the neck as he did, and let himself fall upon him." Then all released him. The *varṇayaskī buddhi* of the Kumārāmāyā.

The Indian tales are undoubtedly the originals of those which had spread to Tibet, Syria, Russia and other parts of Europe. Within India there may be a difference of opinion as to the relative antiquity of Jain tales on the one hand and Pāli-Buddhistic on the other. Hertel claims anteriority for the Jain tales² and quotes a passage from the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*³ attributing piracy to the Buddhists. Let us leave aside for the present the settlement of this dispute and be satisfied that they are both Indian. As Buddhism spread to Tibet, tales connected with Buddhism were naturally imported into Tibet. In the Preface to Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales* Mrs. Rhys Davids had indicated the following originals—16 from Pāli Jātakas, 5 from commentaries (Vinaya, Mhv. and Commentary, commentary on Dhammapada, Aṅguttara, Therīgāthā), 4 from Pañcatantra (including one from Hitopadeśa) and 1 from Mahābhārata, leaving the remaining 24 blank and hoping that the gaps might well be further reduced by an expert Sanskritist. Tale no. 5 "*Sudhana Avadāna*" is apparently derived from the *Divyāvadāna*, many variants of which I have discussed in a *Minor Tale of the Swan Maiden Type and its Parallels* in the *Proceedings* of the Fourth Oriental Conference.

Now it is quite imaginable that the Buddha and his monks related homely stories for the edification of their hearers, some of them may not have been incorporated in the Pāli texts and commentaries as we have them in available editions, but might have been nevertheless preserved in Sanskrit-Buddhistic texts whose number was very great. The translation work into

2 Johannes Hertel—*On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Guptat* (Leipzig, 1922) pp. 1-2.

3 Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, p. 15. Śākyabhikṣu—namo Buddhāya Kāpālikānamah Kharapatāyety vaktavyam, yena Coraśāstram pranitam Athavā Kharapatād-apy asminn adhikāre Buddha evādhikah.

Tibetan began during the reign of Sroñ. btsan. sgam. po and was continued till the end of the 17th century A.D. Thousands of Sanskrit works not only connected with Buddhism but also secular were made available in Tibetan. The translations were literal and faithful, giving in Tibetan word-for-word Sanskrit equivalent. In them may be found the originals of those not identified by Mrs Rhys Davids. Then again some tale which was current in India but which being unmoral or immoral was subsequently rejected by Buddhist Canonical editors was yet preserved in some secular (or even religious) Sanskrit work and was transported to Tibet, e.g. the tale of "the Clever Thief" in the *Tibetan Tales*. I have already indicated in my paper *The Story of a Fool and its Sanskrit and Buddhist Parallels*¹ the parallels of 46 stories of fools taken from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in *Po-yu-king* of *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* (being translation from Chinese Tripiṭakas by Dr. E. Chavannes) and *Les Avadanas* translated by Stanislas Julien. These stories do not seem to be found in Pāli edition yet they exist in Chinese version. A portion of a tale that I find in the Jaina Nandī-sūtra is absent in the Pāli version (Mahā-Ummaga Jāt no. 546, also 402) viz. the incident of feeding a sheep without letting it wax fat, and is yet present in the latter's derivative—the Tibetan tale no. VIII, *Mahausadha and Visākha*, (*Kab-gyur*, vol. xi), it is also present in *Les Avadanas* translated by Julien.

I am giving below the summary of the above in a tabular form indicating the incidents by number already used.

1. Incidents of the story. 2. Jain-Nandī-sūtra (Goneghoḍaya). 3. Pāli Jātaka (Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa). 4. Kathāsaritsāgara (Devabhūti). 5. Tibetan Tale no. 3 (Ādarśamukha). 6. Russian Tale, &c

See annexed Table

(To be continued)

KALIPADA MITRA

The Stray Plate from Tirilingi: [Gāṅga?] Year 28

Tirilingi is a small hamlet in the Ganjam district of Madras and is situated close to the headquarters of the Tekkali *zaminsdars* in the same district. Some time in the year 1926 a woman residing in the village came upon a single inscribed sheet of copper by the side of an old well. Mr. Lingaraja Misra of Parasuramapuram secured the plate from her and passed the same on to my friend Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru of Parlakimedi who announced its discovery in a short illustrated paper.¹ The plate has since been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

I re-edit the record from a set of ink-impressions very kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Rajaguru.

The inscription, which is incomplete, is engraved on a single sheet of copper with plain edges. The plate measures $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ and the weight is six tolas. Towards the proper left margin of the plate there is a ring-hole of about $\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. There is no ring or seal. The first (obverse) side of the plate shows some signs of deterioration in the opening lines, otherwise the record is in a state of perfect preservation. There are seven lines of writing in all, of which five appear on the first side and two on the other.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and generally resemble those of the Narasingapalli² (Year 79) and Utlam' (Year 80) Plates of Hastivarman, and the Godavari Plates of Prthivīmūla.⁴

There is nothing remarkable about the palaeography or orthography of the record.

The language is Sanskrit. There are two of the customary closing verses in Anuṣṭubh metre, the rest of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription, which is incomplete being the last plate of a set, records apparently the gift of some village or land. Both the donor and the donee must however remain unknown personalities until the rest of the inscription is found.

1 *JAHRS*, III. 54 ff. and plates.

3 *Ibid.*, XVII. 330 ff. and plates.

2 *El*, XXIII. 62 ff. and plates.

4 *IBBRAS*, XVI. 114 ff. and plates.

The date, which is given in words only, is the Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī of the month of Phālguna of the Year 28 of 'the increasing régime' (*pravardhamānā-rājya-samuatsarasya*)

The writer as well as the engraver was Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra.

Mr Rajaguru came in for some criticism and perhaps more injustice when he announced that the Tirlingi inscription was dated in the Year 28 (of the Gāṅga era). The illustrations of the plate now provided will substantiate Mr Rajaguru's reading beyond any question.

The problem now at issue is to find an approximate date for the grant. Here, once for all, we have to depend entirely on such evidence as can be extracted from the fragmentary record itself. A fundamental fact which must be recognised at the outset is that the script clearly suggests association with the early Gāṅga kings of Kāliṅga. The style of the document is also very characteristic. On top of all this, we have the ubiquitous personality of Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra,—a remarkable figure in Indian epigraphy. The known quota of service put in by this apparently very able scribe works out already at twelve years (Gāṅga Years 79-91). And if we were again to associate him with the present record, Vinayacandra would have had a service of at least 63 years in the Gāṅga Court—a position which has rightly elicited⁵ some scepticism. On the other hand, this position hardly improves if the Tirlingi Vinayacandra is taken to be the grandfather of the later and more famous Vinayacandra, or even if we were to think of a different reckoning of the era to which the year of the grant has to be referred.

Attempts to guess a donor for the grant have so far proved equally futile and the reading of the date now further widens the field of speculation. Professor R. Subba Rao thought⁶ of Mitravarman of the Godavari Plates of Prthivīmūla. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, identified in effect⁷ the unknown donor with Indravarman Rājasiṃha of the Achyutapuram,⁸ Parlakimedi⁹ and the Santa-Bommali¹⁰ Plates and the late-lamented Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh shared¹¹ Dr. Bhandarkar's view.

5 *El*, XXIII 63, fn 1

7 *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 285, fn 1

8 *El*, III 127 f

10 *El*, XXV 194 ff

6 *JAHRS*, VI 71

9 *IA*, XVI 131 ff

11 *JBORS*, XX 44 ff

In spite however of its fragmentary character, our record seems to be a genuine one. Mr. G. Ramadas's attempt,¹² therefore, to make out a case for a possible fabrication rests on no foundation.

In respect of the year mentioned, the Tirlingi inscription clearly antedates the Jirjingi Plates of Indravarman.¹³ The evidence of palaeography generally points to somewhere between 450-525 A.D.

Text¹⁴

Obverse

- 1 m=para-dattām=vā (ttām vā) yatnād=rakṣa Yudhiṣṭhira (sthira) [| *] mahīm mahimatām
- 2 śreṣṭha dānāc=chrayo(chreyo)=nupālanaṃ (nam) [| | 1 *] Saṣṭum=varṣa-sahasrā-
- 3 nī svargge modatī [bhūmidah] [| *] ākṣeptā c=ānumantā
- 4 ca tāny=eva narake vased-iti¹⁵ pravardhamāna-rājya sambha(mva)-
- 5 tsarasya aṣṭāviṃśatimasya¹⁶ Phālguna(na)-Kṛsnāstamyām

Reverse

6. likhitam=utkīrṇaṃ c=edaṃ Bhānucandra-sūnunā
7. Vinayacandren=eti(| |)

R. K. GHOSHAL

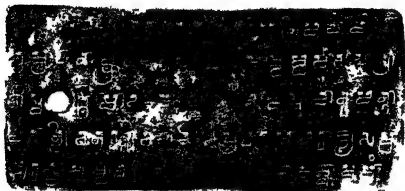
12 *JAHRS*, III 82 f, *El*, XXV 196, f n 5 13 *El*, XXV. 281 ff

14 From ink-impressions

15 Read *vases* [| | 2 *] *iti*

16 Read "vimsati" Emendations so far suggested are *stya-asbtavits* (G Ramadas, *JAHRS*, III 82-3), *astbasitas* = *asya* (D R Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 285, f n 1), and *astāsiti* (J C Ghosh, *JBORS*, XX 44-5) Incidentally, the form *astāvimsatima* itself is not wholly ungrammatical as one would be inclined to believe Professor Buddhadeva Bhattacharya has very kindly drawn my attention to a verse occurring in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Cāṇḍī* (xi 37, Cf *Śrī-Śrī-Cāṇḍī*, ed Panchanan Tarkaratna, Calcutta 1333 BS) which is a good instance in point *Vaivasvatē'ntare prāpte astāvimsatime yuge/* Nāgoji Bhatta as well as Gopāla Cakravarti, however, frankly confess the obsolete and irregular nature of such a construction which they claim to find only in Vedic grammar (*Chāṇḍasab*) Gopāla, however, attempts a somewhat loose affiliation to current grammatical systems by deriving the word as *astāvimsatim māti iti*

STRAY PLATE FROM TIRLINCI [CANCA?] YFAR 28



Obverse



Reverse

Sanskrit Poet Ghanaśyāma

Ghanaśyāma gives the date of his birth in the following verses :

लगने कीटे ऋषेष्वासन-दल-निचयी भूज-केतू धनुर्ह-
यंशे काव्योऽथ नके क्रिय-षट-कटकांशेषु सीम्येन-चन्द्राः ।
सौरिर्मेघे तुलांशे वृष-मिथुन-दले वैदिकेयोऽथ जीवः
कीर्तिरे सिद्धभागे ह्यलि धनु-नवमांशे यदीयोऽवतारः ॥

According to the Indian Astrological calculations, the year of Ghanaśyāma's birth is 1700 A.D. In many places² Ghanaśyāma himself says that he was the minister of Tukkoji I of Tanjore. Tukkoji ruled from 1729 to 1735. So it is evident that he became minister when he was 29 years old. That he survived Tukkoji is expressly stated in the *Nilakantha-campū-saṃjīvanī*.³ As he began to write books at a very early age, the extant record being a composition of his eighteenth year,⁴ viz. the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, his literary activities must have continued from 1715 to 1750.

Though he resided in Tanjore as minister, he was a native of Mahārāstra.⁵

His family

Ghanaśyāma was the son of Mahādeva and Kāśī.⁶ His elder brother was Īśa⁷ who appears to have assumed the name Cidāmbara Brahmācārī in

1 Verse 4, Introduction to the *Uttara-Rāma-carita-vyākhyā* of Ghanaśyāma

2 See *Abhiñāna-śakuntala-uppana*, Ms. No. 4309 of Serfoji Maharaja's Library, Introductory verses, *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī*, v. 5, etc.

3 आयुः किं शरदां महत्प्रमथ किं दैवेन यदीयते

4 Introduction to *Rāmāyana-campū*, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, Ms. 4143-45 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Sanskrit Ms. Library

5 Colophon to the first act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*

6 The first two lines of the verse

यस्येशोऽग्रभवः पिता किल महादेवः स काशीप्रसूः

साधुः श्रेयसि सुन्दरी प्रियतमा शाकम्भरी च स्वसा

appear in all the books written by him in the early stage of his life. The third and fourth lines of this verse are suitably altered in his works, e.g. *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, Mss. 4143-45 of Tanjore Sanskrit Ms. Library, *Madana-saṃjīvanī*, Mss. 4587-4588, *op. cit.*, etc.

7 See the above footnote

his later life when he became an ascetic Ghanaśyāma⁸ as well as Sundarī and Kamalā refer to him most respectfully in their works.⁹ They had great admiration for his learning. Cidambara used to live, while an ascetic, at Devipāṣāṇa or Navapāṣāṇa in the temple of Mahiśāsura-mardini near Rāmeśvara¹⁰ Sākambharī was his sister.

Sundarī was his first wife Only her name is mentioned in all the works until he married Kamalā or Kamalajā, e.g. in the Yuddha-kāṇḍa which he composed when he was only 18:—

तेनाष्टादशवत्सरेण कविना चौखडाजिपन्तेन च
श्रीमानारचितबिराय जयतु श्रीयुद्धकाण्डो मुदा ।

and in the *Madana-samjivana* as well as the *Kumāra-vijaya* that were composed when he was only twenty years of age —

सप्ताष्टोक्ति-लिपि-प्रभुर्गुणनिबिडौखडाजि-बालाजि-सत्-
पौत्रो यो विभुरब्ध-विराति-मितबौखडाजिपन्तः कविः ॥

So there is no doubt that Ghanaśyāma and Sundarī were married at a very young age As it is only likely that Sundarī was younger in age than Ghanaśyāma, she was born about 1705 A D

Kamalā's name appears in those works only in which Ghanaśyāma refers to himself as the minister of Tukkoji and also claims to have composed 53 or even more books, e.g. (1) *Bhārata-campū samjivani*, v 5, (2) Introduction to *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-uppana*, and (3) Colophon to Act I of *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjivani*.

The *Candānuranjāna* also notices the name of Kamalajā but the reading in the MS referring to the poet's age is hopelessly lost¹¹ As such Kamalā must have been married to Ghanaśyāma when he was 29 years old, if not earlier. As about two hundred years ago it was customary in India to give girls in marriage at an early age, the difference in age between Ghanaśyāma and Kamalā must have, however, been great The *Candānuranjāna* is probably the earliest work of Ghanaśyāma in which the name of Kamalā is recorded

8 *Cidambariya* mentioned in p 18, l 19, probably refers to a particular work of Cidambara Paramhansa See also p 47, l 17, महाराष्ट्र चक्षु etc

9 P. 25, l. 10, see also fn 8

10 बन्दे ब्रह्मपरं, etc.

11 Vide Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library

Ghanaśyāma's fondness for both Sundarī and Kamalā is, however, manifest from his writings. They used to ask him about the nature of Sarasvatī.—

केयं दोस्तिरयैष कः परिमलः किं सिञ्चितं का घृष्टु
मृतेऽसाविति सुन्दरी-कमलयोः प्रशस्य वा माञ्जन्म् ।
दोषा काऽपि तद्विल्लेखे पुरतोऽपहृत्य हस्या च वा
मृच्छाणं जहती विभाति मयि सा वाग्देवता पातु वः ॥

(v. 3, Introduction to *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*).

Ghanaśyāma also pays a tribute to their talents in one of the introductory verses of the *Abhiñāna-Sakuntala-samjīvanī*—

प्रेयस्योर्मय सुन्दरी कमलयोः कण्ठद्वये शोभताम्, etc (v. 18).

Ghanaśyāma's father's father was Caunda Bālaji of the Bhārgava family and mother's father was Timmaji Bālaji of the Kaundinya Gotra.¹² Ghanaśyāma had two sons, Candrasekhara and Govardhana by name. The former commented upon his father's work *Damaruka*¹³ and the latter who was blind commented upon the *Ghatakarpura-kāvya*.¹⁴ If Govardhana, son of Ghanaśyāma be identical with the author of the *Vedānta-cintāmani*, then Ghanaśyāma as well as his family must be reckoned as great admirers of Vallabha Ācārya.¹⁵ Govardhana also wrote a commentary called *Vedānta-cintāmani-prakāśa* on his *Vedānta-cintāmani*.¹⁶

Ghanaśyāma was a worshipper of the Pañcāyatana-devatā and pays homage to almost all the celebrated gods and goddesses. He offers his prayers to Śiva in the first two verses of the *Damaruka* and the first verse of the *Nilakantha-ujaya-campū*, to Durgā, in the fifth verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī* and in the second verse of the *Nilakantha-ujaya-samjīvanī*, to Sarasvatī in the third verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*

12 *Candānurañjana* Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library —

यस्येशोऽग्रमवः पिता, etc

See also colophon to Act I of the *Prabodhacandrodaya-tikā*

13 घनरयामस्य सुमहाकवि शब्दजुषः, etc.

Mss. 3793-3797 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfojī's Sanskrit Mss. Library. This commentary has not as yet been published.

14 निज-जनक-घनरयामं,

15 See *Notices*, Ms. No. 3016, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Benares Sanskrit College*, Allahabad 1888, Ms. No. 419.

16 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Private Libraries of North-West Frontier Province*, Part I, Benares, 1874, Ms. No. 278.

and the second verse of the *Dhātu-kośa*, and to Gaṇeśa in the first verses of *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī* and the *Dhātu-kośa*. The supreme soul is eulogised in the first verse of the *Campū-Rāmāyana*, Cidambara in the first verse of the *Vidhāśālabhañjikā*, Kṛṣṇa in the second verse of the *Caṇḍānurañjana* and Keśava or Paraśiva in the first verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvana*. Odaneśa, Gṛheśvara and Santānagopāla are offered homage in the 4th verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī*, and Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa and Śiva in the first introductory verse of the commentary *Abhisñāna-śakuntala-uyākhyā*. The implicit faith of the poet in the doings and outstanding powers of Nine Planets is the subject-matter of his work *Nava-graha-carita* and the first three verses form indeed an excellent *stuti* of the Nava-grahas. The Advaita-vāda, however, appears to have attracted him most. He says he is a Paṭhīna fish in the ambrosial ocean of the Advaita philosophy,¹⁷ this is also clear from his undertaking the composition of two works on the same school of thought.¹⁸

Works of Ghanaśyāma

Ghanaśyāma claims to have composed works in various languages—Sanskrit, Prakrit as well as vernaculars. Thus in his commentary on the *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū* he says he composed 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in vernaculars. Fortunately, Ghanaśyāma himself refers to his works on many occasions and Sundarī and Kamalā too refer to many of them. Here is given a subject-index of the works which are thus known. Unfortunately, the works are mostly lost to us and the subjects too are not specifically clear in every case. The names of the works, the quotations from or references to them, etc., help us in determining the subjects and the approximate result thus obtained is exhibited below.

Dramas of various sorts.—

(1) Nāṭaka:

- (a) *Nava-graha-carita*, consisting of three prapañcas. This drama deals with the legends relating to the nine grahas:

17 भगवत्पाद-प्रतिष्ठापिताद्वैत-सुधा colophon to the first Act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī*

18 See the list of his works below.

19 संस्कृते या चतुःषष्टिसंख्या, etc

20 Ms. No 4689 of Tanjore Mss. Library (not published as yet).

- (a) *Trimāṣi-nāṭakas*.²¹
 (b) *Kumāra-ujjaya* in five Acts.²²
 (c) *Pracaṇḍa-rābhūdaya*, for references, see *Pracaṇḍa-rābhūdaya-dīpikā* below.²³

(2) *Saṭṭaka* :

- (a) *Vaṣkuṇṭha-carita*, with commentary.
 (b) *Ānandasundarī-saṭṭaka*.²⁴ This work deals with the marriage of Ānandasundarī the heroine.
 One *Saṭṭaka* without its name given.²⁵

(3) *Bhāṇa* :

- (a) One without a specific name given.²⁶

(4) *Prahasana* :

- (a) *Ḍamaruka*, with commentary.²⁷
 (b) *Candānurañjana*.²⁸ This work records the names of the *Anyā-padeśa-śataka*, *Sad-bhāṣā-kāvya* and a few other works only. —

पदप्रभाषा-काव्यं नाटक-भाषी च सहस्रं चम्पूः ।

अन्यापदेश-शतकं रचितं येनाद्यु खेलेन ॥

It was as such probably one of the early works of Ghanaśyāma. One *Prahasana* is also referred to without name.²⁹

- (5) *Dima* (a) Name not mentioned.³⁰
 (6) *Vyāyoga* (a) Name not mentioned.³¹
 (7) *Nāṭikā* (a) *Anubhava-cintāmaṇi*.³²

21 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgini*

22 Mss 4344-4345 of Tanjore Mss Library, India Office Ms No 4180

23 *Op cit.*

24 Ms. 4681 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss Library. In this library, there is also a Ms. of a commentary on the same by Bhattanātha Svāmīn, India Office Library, Ms No 7398.

25 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgini*, v 6.

26 *Op. cit.*, v. 5.

27 Madras Govt. Oriental Mss Library, Author-index, p 12

28 Ms No. 7400 of the India Office Library, Tanjore Mss Library, Ms. No. 4629.

29 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgini*, v 8

30 *Op. cit.*

31 *Op cit*

32 *Op cit.*, v 13.

B Poetical Compositions : —

- (a) *Prākṛta-kāvya*³³
 (b) *Samskṛta-kāvya*³²
 (c) *Ārya-bandha-kāvya*, a sama-
Prākṛta-kāvya.³⁴
 Aṣṭapadī-padas, etc. in vari-
 ous languages.³⁵
 (d) *Bhārati-ujjaya-kāvya*, series
 of 18 acrostic poems.³⁶
 (e) *Prasaṅga-līlārṇava*³⁷
 (f) *San-manṣ-maṇḍana*

C Anthology :

- (a) *Anyāpadeśa-sahasra*³⁸
 (b) *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*³⁹
 (c) *Śabda-rañjana*⁴⁰

D Campū-kāvyaś.

- (a) *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* (only the
Yuddha-kāṇḍa available)⁴¹
 (b) *Bhāgavata-campū*, with com-
 mentary.⁴²

(c) *Nala-campū*(d) *Harsacandra-*
campū } with double
entendre.⁴³

E Grammatical works. —

- (a) *Samskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*.⁴⁴
 (b) *Prākṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*.⁴⁵
 (c) *Sābdika-modana*.⁴⁶
 (d) *Dbātū-kośa*.⁴⁷

F Rhetoric

(a) *Rasārṇava*⁴⁸

G Philosophy

- (a) *Dvaita-bhañjana*⁴⁹
 (b) *Advaita bodha*⁵⁰

H Śāla-māhātmyas

(a-c) Five, names not known.⁵¹

I Biography

(a) *Bhagavatpāda-carita*.⁵²33 काव्ये प्राकृत-संस्कृते । 1 v 7, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*34 *Op cit.*, v 1135 See colophons to the commentaries of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, etc., also *Camatkāra-taranginī*, Introduction, v 1636 India Office, 1744, No 3962 Here Ghaṇaśyāma uses the appellatives *Vaśyavacas*, *Sarvajñā* and *Sarasvatī*37 V 7, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*39 *Op cit.*, v 8

38 Ms No 3889 of Tanjore Mss Library

40 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*, v 8

41 Mss 4143-4145 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Sanskrit Mss Library

42 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*, v 11, p 543 *Op cit.*, v 1244 Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit manuscripts in Southern India*, No III, Madras Govt Press, 1905, Ms No 1569 See also *Camatkāra-taranginī*, Introd v 645 *Camatkāra-taranginī*, v 646 *Op cit.*, v 9

47 Ms No 5703 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Sanskrit Mss Library, Not printed

48 V 12, *Camatkāra-taranginī*, Introduction.49 *Op cit.*, v 950 *Op cit.*, v 1351 स्थल-साहाय्य-पञ्चकम्, v 16, *op cit*52 V. 12, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*

J Commentaries.

(1) On prose works.

(a) *Dāśa-kumāra-carita-tippaṇa* ⁵³(b) *Vāsavadattā-vyākhyā* ⁵⁴(c) *Kādambarī-vyākhyā* ⁵⁵

(2) On poetical works

(a) *Gāthā-sapta-śatī-vyākhyā* ⁵⁶(b) *Rākṣasa-paddhati-vyākhyā* ⁵⁷(c-f) Commentaries on the *Prākṛta-kāvya*, *Samśkrta-kāvya*, *Prasaṅga-līlānāva* and *Sammans-maṇḍana*. ⁵⁸

(3) On Dramas

(a) *Viddha-sālabhaṅgikā-
vyākhyā* *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*.(b) *Prabodha-candrodaya-
vyākhyā*. ⁵⁹(c) *Abhiññāna-śakuntala-
saṃjīvana* ⁶⁰(d) *Uttara-Rāma-carita-
saṃjīvana* ⁶¹(e) *Vikramorvaśīya-vyākhyā*. ⁶²(f) *Veṇī-sambhāra-vyākhyāna*. ⁶³(g) *Mahāvīra-carita-vyākhyā*. ⁶⁴(h) *Cānda-kauśika-vyākhyā* ⁶⁵(i) *Pracaṇḍa-rābhūdaya-dīpikā*. ⁶⁶
commentary of *Pracaṇḍa-
rābhūdaya* ⁶⁷

Ghaṇaśyāma himself refers to this work in the following verse —

प्रबोध-चन्द्रोदय-सर्व-ज्ञात-सङ्कल्प-स्योदय-शोण-हृदये ।

प्रचण्ड-राहुदय-स्तु रेष वाभात्यहो रमधुनि यस्य हस्तः ॥

The original is not extant but a commentary of it is still preserved in Tanjore Manuscripts Library (No 4388) It is complete and extends over two sheets only, with 17 lines to a page The colophon to the Ms shows that the work consisted of 5 acts only

(4) On Campūs

(a) *Bhoja-campū-vyākhyā* ⁶⁸(b) *Bhārata-campū-vyākhyā* ⁶⁹(c) *Nilakantha-ujjaya-campū-
vyākhyā* ⁷⁰(d) *Bhāgavata-campū-vyākhyā* ⁷¹

53 Mss 4006-4007 of Tanjore Serfoj Maharaj's Mss Library.

54 *Camatkāra-taraṅginī*, Introd., v 1655 *Op cit.* v 1555 *Op cit*56 एषा व्याख्या etc v 8, Introd., to *Camatkāra-taraṅginī*57 *Op cit*

59 Mss 4407-4408 of Tanjore Serfoj Maharaj's Mss Library

60 Mss 4309-4311 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoj's Mss Library

61 Mss 4333-4334 of Tanjore Library Also Madras Govt Oriental Mss.

Library Author-index, p 12, see also Hultzsch's *Report* vol III62-65 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅginī*, vv. 14-15

66-67 See introduction to the commentaries by Ghaṇaśyāma mentioned here

68-69 *Op cit.* v 14, also quoted in the *Camatkāra-taraṅginī*

70 Ms 4059 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoj's Mss Library

71 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅginī* v 11

K Miscellaneous :

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Gaṇeśa-carita</i> . | (c) <i>Ambā-ujjaya</i> . |
| (b) <i>Kaṭy-dūṣaṇa</i> . | (f) <i>Doṣākara</i> . |
| (c) <i>Jāṭisantarjāna</i> | (g) <i>Kukavī-santāpāna</i> . |
| (d) <i>Vaṇa-mālā</i> | (h) <i>Guṇākara</i> . |
| | (i) <i>Abodbhākara</i> ⁷² |

The *Kaṭy-dūṣaṇa* really forms the second Act of the *Ḍamaruka Prabhasana* of our poet; the *Kukavī-santāpāna* the fourth, the *Abodbhākara* the fifth and the *Jāṭi-santarjāna* the eighth. Sundarī and Kamalā, however, in their introductory verses in the commentary on the *Viddha-sālabhañjīkā* treat these as separate works. These sections really hang very loosely in the work and it appears as though they were also separately treated.

At page 904 of the India Office Library Catalogue, I put under the name of Ghanaśyāma Bhatta *Madhurāṣṭaka-vivṛti-tippaṇī* as well. Though Ghanaśyāma was eminently an adherent of the Advaita school as his works on philosophy mentioned above show and as is also clear from his own statement “भगवत्पाद-प्रतिष्ठापिताद्वैत-सुधा-समुद्राटन-महापाठीनेन” in the colophon to the first Act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*, it is not unlikely that he got interested in the Suddhādvaita school as well. Ghanaśyāma's *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and consequently, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*—can also reasonably be ascribed to him. Unfortunately, neither the *vivṛti-tippaṇī* nor the *Bhāgavata* is at present accessible to me and therefore, no further investigation about the genuineness of the ascriptions is possible at the moment. But the authorship of the other works mentioned above is undisputable.

Apart from composing all the above-mentioned works, our poet also took delight in composing many short poems, 4 thousand songs and various other literary works ⁷³. It is clear that he did not waste a single moment of his life, the literary output he has left behind him is indeed enormous. The major portion of it is lost, and the remnant, too, is not generally known as nothing but the *Ḍamaruka* and the *Uttara-Rāma-carita-vyākhyā* have as yet been published.

Ghanaśyāma as a writer.

That Ghanaśyāma was a precocious person cannot be doubted. His earliest extant work is the *Dhātu-kośa* ⁷⁴. In verse No. 8 of its introduction,

72 *Camatkāra-taranginī*, introduction

73 Colophon to Act I of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*

74 Ms. No. 5703 of Tanjore Mss. Library.

he pleads for the pardon of the learned on the score of his being a young student, still a *kiśoraka*.⁷⁵ Though even at this stage he does not fight shy to criticise an author of the standing of Amarasimha,⁷⁶ still he recognises here the authority of several scholars and his indebtedness to them⁷⁷ and in the judgment of the reading public.⁷⁸ While still a 'Bālaka,' a mere boy,—as he more specially says in the concluding part of the same work, really at the age of eighteen⁸⁰—he composed the *Rāmāyana-campū*. He composed the *Bhāṇa Madana-saṁjīvana* when he was twenty⁸¹ The reading अर्ध-विंशति in the Ms. of the *Madana-saṁjīvana*, No. 1679 of Hulzsch's *Report*, is evidently wrong, it is really अष्टविंशति as the Tanjore Ms. shows. In the *Madana saṁjīvana* itself, the poet refers to his previous work composed at the age of eighteen.⁸² The poet also composed the *Kumāra-vijayanātaka* dealing with the story of God Subrahmanya in the same year.⁸⁴ The poet himself announced that the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*, only a defective copy of which is extant to-day and is preserved in Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss Library, is his fourth book⁸⁵ The *Damaruka* was his eighth book⁸⁶ composed at the age of 22. A Ms of it is preserved in Madras Govt. Mss Library⁸⁷ and a commentary on it by the son of the poet exists in

75 तेषां ता कलिका एव, etc

76 Introductory verses 10 and 11 of the *Dhātu-kośa*, see also verse 13

77 Introd v 19 of the *Dhātu-kośa*—प्राचां प्राञ्चि etc See also verses 6, 7 and 8a

78 Verse 129

79 Ms No 1981, Hulzsch's *Report*, vol III—Introductory part of *Rāmāyana-campū*,—

चौरढाबालाजिपौत्रो यतिवर-दयया बालकोऽपि प्रधीरः ।

80 Ms No 4143-45 of Tanjore, तेनाष्टादश-वत्सरेण कविना,

81 Hulzsch's *Report*, Mss 1682 and 1679—...०८० अर्धविंशतिमितचौरढाजिपंतः कविः

82 Hulzsch's *Report*, vol III, Ms No 1681, Tanjore Library, Mss 4587-4588 —

किं युद्धकाण्ड-नाम्न क्षम्पू-काव्यस्य प्रणीता चनरयामकविः ॥ etc

83 Ms 4344 of Tanjore—पौलोड्यं विभुरब्धविंशति-मितः चौरढाजिपन्तः कविः ।

The work is also called ब्रह्मानन्द-विजयः ; see the concluding verse

84 Ms No 3889, 'आख्यात-प्रतिवस्तु-पद्यगुला सेयं चतुर्धन्यवतः' ।

85 Concluding verse of the *Damaruka* जीयाच.....महाकविरसावष्ट-अबन्धीश्वरः ॥

86 One of the *Prastāvanā* verses of the *Damaruka*.

.....द्वयवादि पङ्क्त-मिहिरो द्वाविंश-वर्षान्वितः ।

87 Ms. No. D 12519 The work is complete in 10 *Alamkāras*, viz.

Tanjore Mss. Library.⁸⁸ In his tenth book, the *Samṣkṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*,⁸⁹ Ghaṇaśyāma gives the names of his previous works *Sanmaṇi-maṇḍana* and its bhāṣya, one Nāṭaka *Kumāra-vijaya* and one bhāna *Madana-saṃjīvana*, one Sattaka *Ānandasundarī* and the Prahāsana *Damaruka* where also the same works are mentioned.⁹⁰ In his eighth work *Damaruka* he identifies himself with Sarasvatī⁹¹ and in the tenth the *Samṣkṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*, he speaks of his title Kaṇṭhīraṇa for the first time.⁹² He also gives his name as Āryaka in the *Damaruka*.⁹³ The *Navagraha-carita* was his eleventh book and was composed when he was still 22.⁹⁴ As the *Damaruka*, his 8th book, was composed in his 22nd year and the *Navagrahacarita* too at that time, the ninth work which cannot be ascertained at present as well as the tenth, viz the *Samṣkṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*, must have been composed in the same year. The *Candānurañjana* Prahāsana was composed at an early part of his life as Ghaṇaśyāma mentions here only the *Sadbhāṣā-kāvya*, one Nāṭaka one Bhāna, one Sattaka one Campū, and the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*. The *Ānandasundarī* Sattaka, Mss. of which are preserved in the Tanjore Mss. Library⁹⁵ as well as the India office Library⁹⁷ must also be an early composition of the author as it is against his nature to remain silent about earlier works. Of the extant commentaries of Ghaṇaśyāma on dramas, the earliest is the *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī*, it being the 53rd work of the author. In v 13 and in the colophon to Act I of the *Prāṇapratisthā*, he boasts as being the author of 53 works and therefore the next commentary by him must have been the *Prāṇapratisthā*. It was composed

राजानुरजन, कलिदूषण, सुकवि-सजीवन, कुकवि-सन्तापन, अबोधकर, शाब्दिक-भजन,
परिष्ठित-खण्डन, जाति-संतर्जन, प्रभु-वर्णन and अखण्डानन्द ।

88 See Tanjore Catalogue, Nāṭaka volume

89 पटु-षड्-भाषा-काव्यं नाटकमागौ च सट्कं चम्पूः ।

अन्यापदेश-शतकं ग्रहसनमपि येन लीलया प्रथितम् ॥

90 Ms No 1569, Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India*, No III, Madras, Govt. Press, 1905, concluding verse, last line.

चिरं जयतु सतकविर्भुवि दशप्रबन्धीकरः ॥

91 सरस्वती धनश्यामो, etc.

92 कण्ठीरव-धनश्याम कविना, etc

93 Colophon सुरनीरपरिष्ठित-धनश्याम-नामक आर्यको, etc

94 End of the work — नवग्रहा भूरि नमो वः etc.

95 Ms. No. 4629 of Tanjore Mss. Library

96 Ms No 4681 of Tanjore Library

97 Ms. No 7398

when Ghanaśyāma was above 50. The *Prānapratisthā* has been referred to in his other commentaries and is, therefore, one of the earliest commentaries composed by him. The *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjivana* is expressly stated to be his 63rd work. The *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* of Ghanaśyāma refers to the *Śakuntala-saṃjivani* and other commentaries and also to the author's *Pracanda-rābhūdaya-dīpikā*. The *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjivani* is his 64th work. As Ghanaśyāma addresses his *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* as the daughter of the author of 64 works, it is evident that Ghanaśyāma undertook the execution of this commentary immediately after the composition of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjivana*. The *Nilakanṭha-campū-uyākhyā* was composed when Ghanaśyāma's patron Tukkoji was no longer living. This appears to be one of his latest work if not the very last one. Here, too, he does not forget to vindicate his antagonists whenever he can, though he necessarily sighs for his great patron.

From the above survey, it is clear that Ghanaśyāma devoted the early part of his life to making original compositions whereas he dedicated the later part of his life to commenting upon various dramas and kāvyas. Though Ghanaśyāma usually writes in a very heavy style as is evident from the introductory verses of the *Prāna-pratisthā*, *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjivana*, *Uttara-rāma carita-ṭīkā*, etc. the double entendres, alliterations etc. in his verses are not devoid of interests. Some of his verses are indeed very attractive.

Ghanaśyāma proves annoying for two reasons, viz (1) lack of chronological sense and (2) extreme self-conceit. It is curious how he could drag down Kālidāsa from the Gupta period to the fourteenth century A.D. and make him a contemporary of Māyana and his son Sāyana. In the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-uyākhyā*, Ms. No. 4309 of Tanjore Mss. Library, he says —

अथ सायण-सायणादि-पुरातन-कवि-समान-कालिको भाग्य-निमित्त-वशात् कामुकराज-
कन्योपदेशेन श्यामला-देवी-निखित-बीजाक्षर-रमणः कालिदासकविः.....मङ्गलमाचरति ।

Again, Ghanaśyāma makes Bhavabhūti a contemporary of Kālidāsa and a protégé of Bhojarāja.⁹⁸

98 अथ कालिदासादि-समानकालिको भाजराजाश्रयः श्रीकण्ठ-नामा 'साम्बा पुनातु
भवभूति-पवित-मूर्तिः' इति श्लोकनिर्माणवेलायुष-वशादानन्द-भरितेन राक्षस-भवभूतिरिति
स्थापितः कविः । *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* Ms. No. 4333-4334 of Tanjore Serfoji
Maharaja's Mss. Library. See also Ms. of *Dāsa-kumāra-carita-leppana*, No. 4006 of

Ghanaśyāma was conceited enough even in his early teens when he did not fail to criticise an outstanding authority like Amarasiṃha in his *Dhātū-koṣa* as we have noticed before. In the *Navagraha-carita* composed at the age of twenty-two, he says he would compose something that others cannot and that would simply be wonderful:—

यदन्य-कवि-दुर्लभं यदपि संविधानोद्भवं
 कुतल्लकरं जगत्सुभवेक-वेद्यं च यत् ।
 तदस्मदतिविस्मयावहमनेक-वस्तुज्ज्वलं
 नवं किमपि चिन्त्यतामिति नव-प्रहाशा मनः ॥

In the *Candānurañjana*,⁹⁹ he boasts that the composition of the *Sad-bhāṣā kāvyā*, *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*, etc. were nothing but a sport to him.—

पटु षडभाषाक्षव्यं नाटक-भाषा च सट्कं चम्पूः ।
 अन्यापदेश-शतकं रचितं येनाशु लेलेन ॥

and his poetical excellence could not but please all —

कलशाम्मोधि-कल्लोल-गर्भ-सर्वस्व-हारिणी । घनरयामकवेर्वाणी कस्य नानन्ददायिनी ॥

He could not but think that others would capitalise the vast store of his vocabulary and prayed to Durgā for helping him in getting rid of them even by means of their total destruction. In an almost identical language with that of Bhavabhūti, he declared outright that he was conscious that there were only few who could understand him, if at all, his compositions were ambrosial seas that could hardly be drunk dry. Even Kālidāsa himself was no match for him—unfortunate Kālidāsa who had to his credit only ten works¹⁰⁰ Only Raṅgarājādharin Mahopādhyāya, Bhoja and others could realise that he and Sarasvatī were not different, they were simply identical. Even the great Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntācārya, author of the *Samkalpa-sūryodaya* and many other notable works, was no match for him.¹⁰¹ He had no respect for the commentaries of anybody else than only two, viz. Mallinātha and Appaya Dīkṣita; others were simply incompetent and managed to keep silent whenever any difficulty arose.¹⁰² The

Tanjore Mss Library.—अथ भोजराज-सभायां कालिदासमवभृति-प्रमुखवदखिलमाननीयो बाण इव कादम्बरी-संज्ञां दशकुमार-चरिताख्यां प्रहेलिकं रचयिष्यन्, etc

99 Ms No. 7400 of the India Office Library

100 *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*, v. 8.

101 Mss. 4407-4408 of Tanjore Mss. Library, *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*, introductory verses 12 & 13:

102 *Bhārata-campū-vyākhyā* - सन्त्यज्याप्यबदोक्तिं etc

way in which he lets the audience know his name Caṇḍāji and epithets Sarvajña Kavi and Kaṇṭhīrave is very queer and necessarily means bad taste.¹⁰³ He mentions his titles Sarvajña, Vāśyavacas and Sarasvatī in the colophon to each Act of the dramas he comments upon¹⁰⁴ and also in his *Bhāratī-camatkāra-kāvya*¹⁰⁵. He does not miss the opportunity to play a fun upon his name Ghanaśyāma for eulogising self.¹⁰⁶

One seldom comes across a commentator like Ghanaśyāma who has nothing but contempt for the authors of works he comments upon. He looks down upon Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara, Kṛṣṇa Mīra, etc. as they were the authors of a few works only.¹⁰⁷ He thinks he does them a great favour by commenting upon their works, the credit of making them immortal is due to him.

His vanity is, thus, really responsible for wrong criticisms in many places in his commentaries. The grammatical accuracies which he questions at times are not really questionable.

He makes also irresponsible or wrong statements at times. He makes a positive mistake when he says that Rājaśekhara wrote only three works, because Rājaśekhara himself says in his *Bālarāmāyana*¹⁰⁸ that he had already composed 6 works. Not less than 5 works are known to exist even to-day, viz the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, the *Pracanda-pāṇḍava*, the *Bāla-bhārata*, the *Bālarāmāyana*, the *Viddha-sālabbhaṅgikā*, and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* refers to another work of Rājaśekhara, viz, the *Hara-vilāsa*.

Ghanaśyāma expresses pride by stating that he was capable of composing commentaries within a few hours even when he was fasting. Thus he says, he began as well as completed the *Prāna-pratiṣṭhā* during the

103 सूचकः—प्रिये सर्वज्ञ-कविना ? (tc.

104 Eg वश्यवचः-सर्वज्ञ-सरस्वती-नामलय-मण्डितेन घनश्याम-परिहृतेन.....प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

105 India Office Ms No 3962

106 तनुवचि यो न श्यामः कविः etc

107 E.g. as Kṛṣṇa Mīra is known to have been the author of a single work, he says in his commentary on the *Prabodha-candrodaya*—

एकग्रन्थकरस्य हन्त भणितं मिश्रस्य स व्याकरो-

त्यार्योऽङ्गीकृतस्यन् भुवि घनश्यामः कवीनां कविः ॥

108 V. 12. प्रस्तावना—“विद्धि नः षट् प्रबन्धान्”

fourth prahara of the Śivarātri;¹⁰⁹ he completed the *Sakuntala-saṃjīvana* while keeping awake during the Bhīṣmaikādaśī night.

He was again very proud of his knowledge of languages. About Rājaśekhara, he has a very poor opinion, Rājaśekhara knew only Sanskrit and Prakrit whereas he knows all the languages

All these obnoxious statements are bound to elicit resentful statements as those of Vāñceśvara Sudhī *alias* Kuṭṭi Kavi in his *Mahīṣa-śataka*,¹¹⁰ p. 21 of J. Vidyāsāgara's ed. —

नानाजि-प्रभु-शाहजीन्द्र-शरमेन्द्रानन्दरायादयो

विद्वांसः प्रभवो गताः भित्त-सुधोसन्दोहजीवातवः ।

विद्यायां विषबुद्धयो हि वृषलाः सभ्यास्त्विदानींतनाः

किं कुर्वन्मय कृषे ब्रजामि शरणं त्वामेव विश्वावनीम् ॥

This verse at once shows that Vāñceśvara was a junior contemporary of Ānandarāya Makhin and others, of whom he was an ardent admirer, he was a senior contemporary of Ghanaśyāma whom he appears to rebuke by the epithet Vrsala in the above.

Ghanaśyāma as the author of the Prānapratisthā

The *Prānapratisthā* of Ghanaśyāma is a short commentary on the *Viddha-śālabhaṅṣika*. It takes into account only a few words and ignores the rest as he professes to do in the introductory verse no. 14. Usually he gives the Sanskrit rendering of all the Prakrit passages and verses and comments upon a few Prakrit words as well. The variant readings that he interprets add much to his credit as a commentator. The sūtras of Prakrit grammar quoted in the *Prāna pratisthā* are mostly traced in the *Prākerta-prakāśa*.

109 शिवरात्रि-चतुर्थ-यामारब्ध, *bhaṅṣikā* with the commentary *Prāna-pratisthā*.

110 Vāñceśvara himself composed in Benares a commentary on his *Mahīṣa-śataka*, also called *Śleṣārtha-candrikā*, consisting of 102 verses. The Ms. is dated 1735 Śaka i.e. 1813-14 A.D. —

वायाग्न्यग्नीन्दु-प्रमिते शाक-काले सुधीमुदे ।

भूयाद्वाञ्छेश्वर-कृता व्याख्या रत्नेषार्थ-चन्द्रिका ॥

He also pays tribute in his commentary to his Gurus Viśveśa Śrinivāsa Ārya as well as Ahobala.

Sometimes he cleverly justifies the uses of Rājāśekhara, e.g. the singular number in दृशा in verse 2, act 1,¹¹¹ the stage direction ततः प्रविशति हरदासः immediately after the प्रस्तावना ;¹¹² metrical use of महर्हि¹¹³ ; एच्चापी अद्¹¹⁴ a deśi word, शस in the particular context in v 43, p. 73;¹¹⁵ जामादुभस्स for जामाभरस्स¹¹⁶ ; वारंवारैश्च¹¹⁷ पिण्ड in primary sense,¹¹⁸ sandhu in तत्स्थायु ;¹¹⁹ use of the plural number for singular in वयंतस्वस्रजो¹²⁰ etc. But very often he ridicules Rājāśekhara for his lack of knowledge, e.g. he declares uses like प्रातस्स्य in l. 3, v. 12, p. 12, अक्षरावली in l. 2, p. 68, etc. as absolutely wrong.

In the *Prāṇa-pratīṭhā*, he refers to his Kumāravijaya, *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya*, *Veṅkaṭeśa-carita*, the commentaries of dramas and other works like the *Cidambarīya*.¹²¹ In several places in the commentary he points out that Rājāśekhara used occasionally Sanskritized Marathi phrases and proverbs.¹²²

Ghaṇaśyāma's genius was defiled by his excessive self-conceit. His verses are at times horrible. In his early work, he had a decent style, but the older he grew, the more pedantic his style turned out to be. His commentaries deserve praise, but his criticisms are at times meaningless or simply exhibit his pride. His ways of referring to great poets like Kālidāsa by such obscure names as Īśvatakr̥ṣṇa or Bhartṛmīdhya are puzzling. But it may be said to his credit that he has a style of his own in his commentaries, one who has thoroughly studied one of his commentaries would at once recognise his other commentaries. The authorities quoted are mostly the same, and the tendency to look down upon or criticise even the greatest poets is ludicrously manifest throughout. His great learning is displayed in all the commentaries, particularly through numerous quotations. He richly deserves the epithet Kosāvalivallabha which he applies to himself in verse 5 of the Introduction to the *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā*. His explanations of the variant readings are copious and interesting too.

J B CHAUDHURI

111 p 12

113 p 46, ll 18-20

115 l 5

117 v t p 95

119 l 23, p 150

121 See p 18

112 p 18

114 l p 69

116 l 7, p 84

118 l 4, v 22, p 112

120 l. 13, p 162

122 E.g. एवं वर्णयता कविना स्वस्य महाराष्ट्रं त्वं प्रकटीकृतम्, etc. p 138, l 18.

Provincial Government under the Memeluke Sultans of Delhi

The Ghuride conquest of Northern India can hardly be described as complete or the outcome of a definite military plan, conceived and executed by one single mind within a specified time. It was the work rather of adventurers of the Turkish race, set in motion by the shifting of population in Central Asia, consequent upon, and which therefore presaged, the eruption of the Mongols from the uplands of Tartary. In its absence of programme and design the 13th century Turkish conquest can well be compared with the British expansion in the 18th century. The process continued for generations and the government that was established in Delhi reflected, in the looseness of its structure and improvisations, the continuity of military action. Not till a new dynasty was established in the person of the Khaljis did these experiments crystallise into a system and a centralised state come into being.

Implicit in the circumstances of its existence was therefore the peculiar nature of the provincial administration which functioned during the first century of the conquest. It had to be in the main military and largely autonomous. It was to the single-handed initiative and resources of men like Bakhtiyar that the Turkish state owed its territorial expansion and also its preservation from the by no means passive Hindu powers. For a state like that of Delhi, limited as its man-power was, the setting up of a uniform civil administration in all parts of its dominions was out of the question. Familiarity with the details and problems of day-to-day administration could not be expected of the newly arrived Turks, even were such patient administrators available in their ranks and could be spared from the military work. Retention of the existing governmental machinery in the form of vassal states and the employment of non-Muslims for such essential civil work as the assessment and collection of the land revenue in villages directly within the military area, was thus unavoidable. Direct annexation of conquered territories was avoided as far as possible; the ruling class congregated in military headquarters and capital cities, and non-military Muslim penetration of the rural area was extremely slow and was, if at all, confined to missionaries. Except the martial classes, and that usually in course of hosti-

lities, and a few traders, the non-Muslim population thus hardly came into governmental contact with the sovereign race whose purpose of administration turned on the smooth and regular collection of the revenue. It is to be noted, however, that this exclusiveness of the rulers and the character of their administration wore out as the century progressed and as they came into closer contact with the conquered people. The principle of *laissez faire* in administration was one of the important things whose early abandonment featured the Khalji government who thus summed up a tendency that had been progressively making itself felt throughout the century.

A study of this earliest form of Indo-Muslim provincial government must therefore begin with a consideration of the status and power of the vassal ruler to whom the paramount ruler entrusted the regular administration of the major portion of his kingdom. Very little however can be gleaned on this point from the chronicles in which only his hostility provided an occasion for mentioning the feudatory chief. The most important condition of his vassalage was, it is certain, the undertaking for the regular payment of tribute, which represented, it may be assumed, both the land-revenue (*kharaj*) and the poll-tax (*jaziya*) realizable from his dominions. His sovereignty was curtailed to provide for the inclusion, in his coinage, of the suzerain's name, whose omission would be a clear proof of his repudiation of vassalage. In the majority of cases however, the right of having an independent coinage appears to have been entirely taken away, for among the 13th century coins so far discovered only one instance is afforded of such a modified vassalage. The name of Iltutmish (Sama-sorala-deva, i.e. Shamsuddin) is included, evidently as a suzerain, in a few coins of a Cauhan prince of Ranthambhor whose name was read by Thomas as Chahara-deva.¹ From an inscription of another prince, Jaitra Singh, dated 1215, acknowledging the overlordship of Vallanadeva of Ranthambhor, but also mentioning Iltutmish of 'Joginipur,'² it seems that the suzerainty was to be acknowledged in epigraphs also. Government through the vassal kings was not confined to Hindu feudatories alone, for a unique coin, discovered in Bengal, proves the extension of this convenient method to Muslims also. The coin of *Shahin-shah* Alauddin Daulat-shah b. Maudud, dated 1227, mentioning, at the same time the name on the reverse, of *Sultanul Azam*

¹ *Chronicles* p. 70. Cunningham. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 92 see also *Ind Ant.*, 1918, p. 41 ff. Wright, *Cat. of Coins, Ind Mus.*, II, p. 24, no. 77-79.

² *Ind Ant.*, xvi, p. 86.

Itutmish,³ can only be explained by assuming the former's vassalage. Whether the Muslim feudatory was also required to send tribute is a point on which information is obscure, but evidently it would not include the poll-tax which, although presumably realised from the non-Muslims, belonged to the local ruler. On the Muslim vassal the additional obligation of reading the Khutba in the suzerain's name was perhaps imposed, for it was one of the most jealously guarded symbols of sovereignty. If the Assam king's offer to have the Khutba read in his capital in the name of the Muslim conqueror, Yuzbak, in 1255,⁴ can be taken as illustrating the prevailing conditions of vassalage, the Hindu states were also required to give this symbolic expression to Muslim suzerainty, but this would depend on the existence of a Muslim colony in the Hindu feudatory state. In the details of administration the vassal ruler appears to have enjoyed complete independence, subject, obviously, to his obligation to respect his suzerain's edicts. The privilege of having his own modified coinage probably carried with it the right to levy customs duty on his own frontiers. Ordinarily the vassal was his own master in the matter of assessment and collection of land-revenue, administration of justice and observance of religious practices. In the matter of revenue assessment, however, the standard set for the administered areas was expected to be followed in his dominions also, but this could hardly be a condition of vassalage. Much depended on the prestige and strength of the king whose suzerainty had, in fact, to be periodically enforced on the point of sword.

The chronicles generally use the words *Iqta* (اقطاع) and *Wilayat* (ولاية) to indicate a division of the kingdom. The former, which means, literally, a portion, is used much more frequently, seemingly with a technical meaning, on the exact determination of which depends a clear understanding of the nature of the local administration.⁵ The word *Iqta*, meaning an administrative division, appears to have been used early in Central Asian States,⁶ from which the Turks borrowed it. It is needless to point

3 *JRAS*, vi, p 367, no 13

4 *Tab Nas*, p 264-5

5 Both the words are used in a synonymous sense—See Barani p 96, also p 430 where Balban, in advising his son Bughra Khan, *Muqtu'* of Lakhanuti, drew a distinction between *Iqtisdari* (kingdom) and *Wilayat-dari*, the last word having been evidently used for *Muqtu*-ship: see also Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Appendix B pp 217-219

6 See, for example, Nizamul Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, p 28 Ibnul Atbir

out that Raverty's translation of the word as 'fief'—which at once suggests a feudal system in which the tenants-in-chief of the king were virtual sovereigns in their own domains—is misleading. A careful study of the chronicle will show that the so-called 'fief-holders' (*Muqti's*) were little more than bureaucratic officers under the central government. And yet considerable latitude was allowed to them in military affairs, which would be unthinkable for modern bureaucratic governors. As Professor Gibb has remarked,⁷ the term fief is too convenient to be avoided, but not until we study the system closely in its actual working will its exact significance be clear to us.

Towards the end of the XIIth century, Nizamul-Mulk laid down the following rules for the guidance of the *Muqti's*.⁸ "They (the *muqti's*) should know that their right over the subjects is only to take their rightful amount of money or perquisite (مال حق) in a peaceful method, . . . the life, property and the family of the subjects (أولاد) should be immune from any harm, the *muqti's* have no right over them, if the subject desires to make a direct appeal to the court of the Sultan, the *Muqti* should not prevent him. Every *muqti* who violates these laws should be dismissed and punished, . . . the kingdom and the subjects all belong to the king and the *Muqti's*, and the *Walis* are so many superintendents over them as the king is superintendent of other *muqti's* . . . After three or four years the *'Amils* and the *Muqti's* should be transferred so that they may not be too strong." There is no mention, however, of their rights and liabilities in other matters of government such as army, revenue and justice, but there are instances in Seljuq and also in Khwarizmi history showing that the *muqti* had his own contingents equipped and maintained out of the revenue of his province, the rest of which went to the central government."

The same system in all its essential details was followed in India. The *muqti* was appointed by the Sultan, and could be transferred and dismissed at will. Usually he maintained a body of troops consisting of both infantry and horsemen, out of his own provincial revenues, and was respon-

frequently uses it in his account of the Seljuq Kingdom X (Thornberg) pp 178, 274, see also *En-Nessāwī*, p. 79.

7 *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p 34

8 *Sassat Namah*, p 37

9 *Ibnul Asbir* (Cairo) X, pp 127, 152, 176, 192, also Gibb, *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p 34

sible not only for the defence of his province, but also for the maintenance of law and order. His troops could be requisitioned by the central government. Although it is not recorded that he, as a rule, despatched the surplus revenue of his province, after deducting the expenses of the army and the administration, yet instances are not rare to warrant such a supposition. The *muqti*' of Lahore and Multan was directed by Muhammad b. Sām in 501/1204 A.D. to despatch the arrears of revenue to enable him to make preparations for his campaign in Transoxania.¹⁰ According to Barani, Prince Muhammad, Balban's eldest son and viceroy of Sindh, used to bring the revenue of his province personally to his father every year.¹¹ If we may take instances from the Khalji and Tughlaq period we may cite the instance of Alauddin, the *muqti*' of Karra and Awadh, who asked Jalaluddin Khalji for permission to utilise the surplus revenue (نوافل) of his province in purchasing horses and employing troops for an advance on Chanderi.¹² That the *Muqti*' or *Wali* was responsible for the accounts of his provincial revenue to the Finance Ministry (دیوان وزارت) seems clear from the order of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq to his newly appointed officers. "If you desire that you may not be taken to task by the *Diwān-Wazārat*... you should not be avaricious, take a little from the *Iqta*' and with this defray your expenses and pay your troops, and do not take a single farthing from the pay of the troops."¹³ A close audit of the account of the *muqti*' is also implied in the following passage: "Those (*muqti*'s) who embezzle the money and tamper with the accounts and exact more than the specified share from the *Iqta*', would be punished with chains and imprisonment."¹⁴ From these facts, Mr. Moreland concludes that the *Muqti* was essentially a bureaucratic officer.¹⁵ The term bureaucracy, however, should be accepted in a qualified sense, since a highly centralised government which the system presupposes, was not what we find in the kingdom of Delhi in the 13th

10 *Alfi Or* 142, F 497b. Also *Jamiat-tawarikh*, quoted by Raverty, *Trans Tab Nas*, p. 482 note.

11 Barani, p. 59, see also pp. 108-9.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 220-21.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 431.

14 *Idem*, see also *Ijazat-Khusrawi*, Add. 16841, F 106-7, where an auditor (مکاسب) sent by the *Diwan-i-Wazarat*, complains of the refusal of the *muqti* of Manikpur to submit his accounts or to pay the surplus revenue (نوافل) which was fixed at thirty thousand *pitals*.

15 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 221.

century. On more than one occasion the *muqti*' of Lakhnauti attacked another loyal governor, and was not considered a rebel on that account, both Malik Tamar Khan and Arstān Khan, siezed the province of Lakhnauti without the sanction of Delhi.¹⁶ Although there is no record of the amount of his remuneration of salary (مراجب) as such, he must have had a definite share out of the revenues. The fact that in several instances,¹⁷ the *muqti*' attempted to extend his province not only by conquering Hindu territories but also by annexing part or whole of other adjacent *Iqtas*, and thus increasing the total revenue, suggests that his salary was probably fixed in proportion to the entire revenue.¹⁸ Except as a punishment, as in the case of Malik Kabir Khan, who was recalled from Multan by Iltutmish and placed in charge of the small *Iqta*' of Pulwal,¹⁹ or in the case of Malik Kushlu Khan, who, on the dismissal of Balban from the court in 651/1253 A.D. was transferred from his extensive *Iqta*' of Nagaur to Karta,²⁰ no *muqti* appears to have been transferred from a larger to a smaller *Iqta*'. Promotion in government service usually meant a transfer from a small to a larger *Iqta*'.²¹ It is important to note that although the *muqti* was assigned a fixed share in the revenue, his financial position was different from that of the assignee (*Iqtadar*) who had no financial liability to the central exchequer. This is clear from the position of the two thousand *Shamsi Iqta'dars* who were assigned the revenues of the villages as their pay for personal service in the army.²² To this category also belonged the

16 *Tab Nas.*, pp. 245, and 267. 17 *Op cit.*, *Tab Nas.*, pp. 269, 277

18 What this proportion was is impossible to ascertain. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, early in the 14th century, asked his revenue minister not to punish the "*Maliks and Amirs*" if they appropriated "half-tenth or half-eleventh and one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the revenue of the *Iqta* or *wilayat*,—besides the customary perquisites (مراجب) of the office"—Barani, p. 431. The wording here indicates that while the perquisite—whatever its value may have been—was his usual remuneration, the Tughluq king was prepared to allow the *Muqti* an extra percentage at the rate mentioned. Perhaps it was a revival of an earlier practice, suspended by the Khalji centralization.

19 *Tab Nas.*, p. 234

20 *Ibid.*, p. 270

21 For example, see the case of Balban who has promoted from the small *Iqta*' of Riwari to Hansi—*Tab Nas.*, p. 283-4, also Malik Aibak, promoted from Sarauti to Behar, p. 238-39, another Aibak was promoted from Narnaul to Baran—p. 237, see also *ibid.*, pp. 251, 253

22 Barani, p. 61-63. The village was given to each of them as his *مراجب*. Cf. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 27

Iqta' of Ikhtiyāruddīn Muhammad b. Bakhtiyār granted to him by the *Muqti'* of Awadh.²³ Other assignments for services of a non-military character were those made to the *Qāzis* of the realm as well as to the *Amir-i-Dād* of the city.²⁴

A practical distinction with regard to their liability and position is discernible among the *Muqti's* of the different provinces. The *muqti'* of such provinces as Lakhnauti or Sindh appears to have enjoyed a different status from those of the provinces situated nearer the capital. Malik Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, eldest son of Iltutmish and *Muqti'* of Lakhnauti, had the insignia of royalty, namely the red canopy and mace, conferred upon him.²⁵ Malik Tughan Khan received a similar recognition from Raziya²⁶ while Bughra Khan, in addition to these honours, was permitted, according to Ferishta, to issue coins in his own name.²⁷ Prince Muhammad, *Muqti* of Multan, was honoured by Balban in the same²⁸ way. The control of Delhi over the viceroyalties must have been different from the control of other provinces of the kingdom. Iltutmish and Balban personally appointed the Clerk (or Secretary خراجہ) of the *Iqta's* of Kanouj and Amioha respectively.²⁹

As regards other duties of the *Muqti'* we have already noted his responsibilities for the civil administration and military defence of the province. As the conquest was in the nature of a military occupation, the division of the kingdom was primarily military, and, as such, the maintenance and command of the provincial troops was the primary duty of the *Muqti'*. He enjoyed considerable freedom of action in the matter of fighting against the Hindus and also against foreign invaders. To quote a few instances, Malik Ay-Yetim, *Muqti'* of Ajmere, died in course of an expedition against Bundi,³⁰ in 640/1242 A.D. the *Muqti* of Budaon is said to have overthrown the independent tribes of Katehar,³¹ the *Muqti'* of Meerut also undertook expeditions in Upper Rohilkhand.³² He was expected to join the royal forces with his provincial contingents whenever required to do so, and failure was considered an act of rebellion. Malik Tez Khan was twice required to come with his troops from Awadh,³³ and Maliks

23 *Tab Nas.*, p. 147, the Governor of Budaon had previously paid him in cash.

24 *Tab Nas.*, pp. 223, 276.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 243

28 Barani, p. 66

30 *Tab Nas.*, p. 237

32 *Ibid.*, p. 270

25 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 181

27 Barani, p. 92, Ferishta I, p. 141

29 *Ibid.*, p. 36-38

31 *Ibid.*, p. 256

33 *Ibid.*, p. 260

Kushlu Khan and Qutluḡ Khan were also ordered to be present with their troops from Budaon and Bayana respectively in the expeditions "against Multan and Uch" in 650/1252 A.D.³⁴ Malik Arslān Khan and Masūd-i-Jānī, the *Muqti* of Awadh, had failed to present themselves with their contingents in 655/1257 A.D. for the preparations undertaken to fight the Mongols, and were greatly afraid of the consequences which led them to rebel.³⁵ Although every *Muqti* was liable to military service, only those in the neighbourhood of Delhi were generally ordered to be present.

From a passage in Baranī, recording the advice of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq to his officers, it appears that the central government fixed the strength, pay, and equipment of the provincial contingents, which the *muqti* was not allowed to alter.³⁶ It is doubtful if this was a continuation of an earlier system.³⁷ The 13th century autonomy would hardly square with this limitation on his action. Before Alauddin's centralization, no such detailed interference with his army administration is in evidence. Balban instructed his son, Bughra Khan, the *Muqti* of Samāna and Sunam, to double the existing number of the provincial force by new recruitments and also to raise their pay.³⁸ He also impressed on him the necessity of keeping himself informed about every detail of his military affairs. "Consider no expense for the army as too much and let your muster-master *عرض ممالك* engage himself always in maintaining the old and recruiting new troops and keeping himself informed about every expenditure in his department."³⁹ The strength of the provincial contingent is nowhere indicated but it must have varied according to the revenue of the province. The *Muqti* also had his Muster-master⁴⁰ (*Ariz*) and was represented in the *Diwan-i-Arz* of the central government by his *Nāib-i-Arz* (Deputy muster-master).⁴¹

It does not appear that the judicial organisation of the province was under his control, or that he had any judicial function to perform. Apart from his general duties of maintaining law and order, which, incidentally, was ordinarily limited to the chief cities and fortresses, and could be performed by the Kotwal appointed by him—his duties were confined, be-

34 *Tab Nas*, p. 298

35 *Ibid.*, p. 311

36 Baranī, p. 431, Moreland draws the same inference—*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 220

37 *Tab Nas*, p. 147

38 Baranī, p. 80.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 101-2

40 *Idem*

41 Baranī, p. 116

sides what has been described above, to the raising of the 'king's share' of the revenue from the peasants, and the Hindu chiefs. We have no information respecting the existence of Muslim peasants at this period,⁴² but in the cities there were owners of land and were liable to the payment of *kharaḥ*. Hindus formed the bulk of the peasantry and in most provinces they paid the revenue through their village headman, called *Muquaddams* and *Chaudhuries*.⁴³ Some of the tributary Hindu chiefs were under the *muqti*' while others paid directly to the *Drwān-i-Wazārat* in accordance with the terms of the original arrangement.

The *muqti*' was generally resident of the province, but in some cases, particularly in the central provinces of the kingdom, there were absentee governors who ruled the province through deputies—sometimes appointed by the central government.⁴⁴ Malik Hindu Khan, *Muqti*' of Uch, ruled the province after he returned to Delhi in the reign of Balhrām, through his deputy (*Nasb*)⁴⁵. Balbān, who held the office of *Amir-i-Hayb* and later of the *Nasb-i-Mamlakat*, requiring his constant attendance at the court, must have administered his *Iqta* of Hansi and Siwalkh through a deputy. At his dismissal in 651/1253 A.D., Hansi was placed in charge of the infant son of Mahmud⁴⁶ and in this case it must have been ruled by a *Nasb*. In larger provinces the *Muqti*' himself appointed his deputy over important cities and outposts, Sher Khan placed his *Nasb* Malik Kureṭ, over Multan,⁴⁷ the *Muqti* of Lahkhanor, killed by the army of the Rai of Jajnagar in 642/1244 A.D., was most probably a deputy of Malik Tugan Khan⁴⁸. Probably to this class of deputy-governorship should 'belong the *Iqta*'s of Narangoc (?) held by Alī-i-Maidān, Diwkot and Ganguri (?) held by Husāmuḍḍin Iwāl, mentioned in connection with the early Khaljī rule in Bengal.⁴⁹ The *Muqti* of Nagaur is said to have conferred the *Iqta*' of Kashmandi on Muhammad, the uncle of Ikhtiyārūddīn Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār.⁵⁰ The *Muqti*' obviously had the authority to

42 From a remark of Firoz Tughlaq recorded by Barani, p. 574, it appears that agriculture was confined to the Hindus, who were recommended for kind treatment as "the agriculturists were the source of wealth for the *Baitul Māl* of the Muslims"

43 Barani, p. 106

44 Eg the *Nasb* of Kanouj was appointed by Iltutmish—Barani, p. 38

45 *Tab Nas*, p. 399

46 *Ibid*, p. 217

47 *Ibid*, p. 277

48 *Ibid*, p. 245

49 *Ibid*, p. 157-8

50 *Tab Nas*, p. 146, note, see also Raverty's Trans., p. 549

assign land or villages to his officers, chiefly for military service, as is seen from the case of Ikhtiyāruddīn who obtained the *Iqta'* of the Bhagwat and Bhuhi from the *Muqti'* of Awadh. Balban advised Bughra Khan to give *Iqta's* to trusted and loyal officers.⁵¹ That the *Muqti'* could also make free grants of villages like the Sultan is proved by the grant of a village by Balban to Minhaj-i-Sirāj in 647/1249 A D—producing an income of thirty thousand *pitals* ⁵²

As to the existence of other provincial officers under him, there is no detailed information but since he was in effect a miniature king, the reproduction of the king's main departments in his province, may perhaps be presumed. He had his secretary or *Dabir* at the head of his secretariat and also a confidential adviser.⁵³ It does not appear that he had any prime minister as such Aīnūl Mulk Asha'ri, who is said to have been appointed Wazir of Prince Fīroz, the *Muqti'* of Budaon, by Iltutmish in 625/1227 A D.,⁵⁴ was most probably only a tutor or *Atabak*. Lesser officers—called *Mutasarrif*, *Karkun* and *Amil*, formed his administrative and fiscal staff,⁵⁵ controlled by his own revenue department, over which the central ministry could claim, at best, auditorial authority. Neither the judicial officers in the province nor the local *Barids* appear to have been under his control.

Extensive as the *Iqta'* system was it was by no means exclusive. Mention is made occasionally of *Khalsab* lands and cities, placed in charge of *Amirs* or *Shahnabs* instead of *Muqti's*. The city and district of Bhatinda appears as a *Khalsab*, at least during the first half of the century.⁵⁶ Raverty translated the word as "Crown-land,"⁵⁷ but Moreland, more appropriately, renders it as "Reserve-land."⁵⁸ Its status, financial liability and relation with the central government, were different from the ordinary *Iqta'*, though the name is sometimes also applied to it.⁵⁹ No

51 Barani, p. 80

52 *Tab Nas.* pp. 214, 295

53 He was named Kat-Khuda, *Tab Nas.*, p. 243, see also Add. 16841, F. 106b

54 *Tab Nas.*, p. 172

55 For the mention of a Mushrif and his Naib (probably an accountant) under the *Muqti* of Kol, see *Fawadul-Fawaid*, Or. 1806, ff. 56-57. The salary of these local officers was paid in cash but those attached to the revenue collection appear to have been allowed to appropriate $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 p.c. of the collected revenue. Barani, p. 430

56 *Tab Nas.*, p. 250, 251

57 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 29.

58 *Tab Nas.*, p. 188

portion of the revenue of the area was assigned to any officer as in the case of the ordinary *Iqta'*, nor was the collection left to the *Muqti* or any other intermediary—but was directly administered by the Revenue Ministry through a Superintendent (Shahnah), who, unlike the *Muqti*, was probably paid a fixed sum of money as his remuneration by the central exchequer. Under the same system was probably the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi, the territory known in those days by the name of *Harianah*⁵⁹—called the "*Havali-i-Delhi*"⁶⁰ which does not appear as part of any *Iqta'*. We do not know the administrative organisation of these regions, but for fiscal purposes it must have been directly under the *Diwan-i-Wazarat*. The reserve land (or *Khalisah*) was, however, not permanent. For Bhatinda later on appears as an *Iqta'* under Malik Sher Khan,⁶¹ which shows that while the distinction remained, the land itself could be changed from *Khalisah* to *Iqta'*. Another important fact should also be mentioned in this connection. The fortress of Gwalior, during the period it was held by Delhi, was never converted into an *Iqta'* but remained always under an Amir evidently a military officer.⁶² It was a military division and the commandant presumably carried no administrative duties. The case of Karra on the Ganges, near Allahabad may be cited as an example of a military division being eventually converted into a civil administrative unit. During the reign of Iltutmish it formed the military charge of an Amir,⁶³ but by the time of Mahmud it had attained the status of an ordinary *Iqta'*.⁶⁴

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

59 For the early use of the name and the extent of the territory see *Epi Indo-Mos.*, 1913-14 p. 38.

60 Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 23, for its approximate boundary.

61 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 277.

62 Iltutmish's first appointment was in Gwalior as its *Amir Tab. Nas.*, p. 169. When he reconquered it in 638/1231 AD he appointed only three officers there, the *Amir-i-dad*, the *Kotwal* and the *Qazi*, *ibid.*, p. 175. Malik Tyasai was appointed as the superintendent of Gwalior and not its *Muqti*, *ibid.*, p. 240.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 177, see also Raverty's note, on p. 626 of his trans.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

MISCELLANY

Dr. Bhattasali's comments on Rāmacarita

In course of his article on "The second struggle of Bhīma and his friend Hari in the Rāmacaritam" in the June issue of this Journal (pp. 126-138) Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has found fault with two statements in the Introduction which he has attributed to me. On p. 136 he has quoted a passage from p. xxxiii of the Introduction which ends with the following sentence. "He (Rāmapāla) may thus be said to have ruled over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, *or at least over major portions of these provinces*" In quoting the passage, Dr Bhattasali has omitted the portion I have italicized above, and, after referring to some "facts," observed "Under these circumstances, to call Rāmapāla master of the whole of Eastern India appears to be a rather lamentable non-appreciation of the actual facts" I leave the reader to judge for himself the propriety of leaving out a very material portion in the extract quoted by him so as to give it an altogether different meaning and then criticising a statement which was never made

As regards the "facts" referred to by Dr. Bhattasali, *viz.*, that "the Varmans were in full occupation of Vanga and of probably the entire region south of the Ganges and east of the Bhāgīrathī," and that "the whole of Kaliṅga including Utkala was under the mighty Coḍaganga," during the reign of Rāmapāla, it will help the cause of history if Dr. Bhattasali would state the evidence on which they are based. For the present I can only say that I am not aware of any positive evidence justifying the categorical remarks of Dr Bhattasali, and that they are opposed to well-known and reliable evidences.

Again, on p. 127 Dr Bhattasali quotes a passage from p. xxix and then adds —

"Dr. Majumdar then goes on to say that the commentary found with the text of the *Rāmacaritam* abruptly ends here. This is incorrect, because the commentary ends with II. 35 and not with II. 36."

Here, also, Dr. Bhattasali has omitted to quote the first portion of the sentence which would show that the word "here" refers in a general way to the text describing subsequent facts and not specifically to verse II. 36. It

has been clearly stated on p. vi. of the Introduction that "the commentary does not run beyond verse 35 of Canto II."

Dr. Bhattasali has pointed out that I "was tempted to identify Hari with Harivarman of Vaṅga but was not prepared to hazard any definite opinion" (p. 135), whereas he seems to have no doubt on this point. I plead guilty to the charge, for I have always feared to tread where Dr. Bhattasali can easily rush.

As regards the other general points raised by Dr. Bhattasali, I need only point out that where uncertainties are so great, any new theory deserves consideration, but his views do not appear to be more convincing than those put forward in our Introduction.

R C MAJUMDAR

Aṣṭaka-*navaka-nala*

We may try to know the meaning of *astaka-navaka-nala* after giving some instances where it occurs. It occurs in lines 15-17 of the dated¹ and line 19 of the undated² Faridpur plates said to be of Dharmāditya but really of Gopacandra, 'Dharmāditya' being a title neither of Samudragupta, as Dr. Hoernle at first thought it to be³ nor of Yaśodharman, as he and Mr Pargiter thought later,⁴ but of Gopacandra himself. It also occurs in line 19 of the grant of Gopacandra dated the year 19⁵ and also in line 10 of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No 3.⁶ Lines 15-17 of the dated Faridpur plate (Plate A) run thus:—

Śivacandra-ha (sten = āsta) kanavaka-nalenām (śam)⁷ apaviñchya
[']* Vātabhoga-sakāśe [']* smābhū [r*] Dhruvilātyām kṣetrākulyavā-
patrayam tāmrapatta-dhammanā vikkṛta [m*].

1 *IA*, XXXIX, pp 195-196 Plate A of the three copper-plate grants from East Bengal edited by Mr Pargiter

2 *Ibid*, p 201 Line 19 of the undated Faridpur plate (Plate B) runs thus,
" dharmasīla-śivacandra—haṣṭ—āstaka—navaka—nalen—āpaviñchya "

4 *Ibid*, XXI, p 44-45

4 *Ibid*, XXXIX, p 208

5 *Ibid*, XXXIX, p 204 Line 19 of this (Plate C) runs in the same way as that of Plate B

6 *EI*, XV, p 136

7 'Sam' is not found in the original plate but is pointed out by Mr Pargiter, though he has not added it in his transliteration

Mr. Pargiter translated the above passage thus :—

"... we, having severed the land according to the standard measure of eight reeds in breadth and nine in length by the hand of Śivacandra, have sold to Vātabhoga a triple kulya-sowing area of cultivated land in Dhruvīlāṭī by the custom of copper-plate."⁸ So, according to Mr. Pargiter, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* means the area eight reeds broad and nine reeds long and he equated this area with a *kulyavāpa*.⁹ He thought that *aṣṭaka-navaka* cannot be connected with the word *hasta* preceding it, as in such a case it would mean that the reed was eight or nine cubits and so not of a definite length.¹⁰ Dr. R. G. Basak follows Mr. Pargiter by translating *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* as a measurement of 8×9 reeds,¹¹ though Dr. Basak does not equate this with *kulyavāpa*,¹² as Mr. Pargiter did.

While Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Basak take *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* as a unit measuring 8×9 reeds, Dr. Benoychandra Sen differs from them. According to him, it means a unit measured by two different kinds of *nalas*, one for measuring length and the other for measuring breadth the former being of nine cubits and the latter eight.¹³ So two different kinds of *nalas* were used to measure the length and breadth respectively of the same unit called *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*. We are at a loss to know why there should be two different *nalas* (one for length and another for breadth) in measuring one and the same unit. It only adds to confusion in measuring. So it is not possible to accept Dr. Sen's conclusion. Again, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* can never be made to refer to an oblong area (of 8×9 reeds according to Mr. Pargiter or 8×9 cubits according to Dr. Sen). *Nala* means a reed and as a unit of measurement, it can mean only a unit of particular length, not an oblong area of particular size at all. So it is wrong to equate, with Mr. Pargiter, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* with *kulyavāpa*. Also such equation is unwarranted by the inscriptions themselves. Further, as Dr. Sen says,¹⁴ it would have been superfluous to mention the two identical expressions (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* and *kulyavāpa*) separately. Finally, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* cannot mean an oblong area, as the word '*apavīṇchya*'

8 *IA*, XXXIX, pp 197-198

9 *Ibid.*, p 215

11 *El*, XV, p 137

13 See his 'Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal' pp 519-520

14 *Ibid.*, p 520.

10 *Ibid.*, p 215.

12 *El*, XV, p 132, n 2

indicates measuring and separating land, not by a standard oblong area, but by a standard unit of particular length.

We cannot accept the meaning of *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* given to it by Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Basak or by Dr. Sen. It means, according to us, a *nala* or reed of eight to nine cubits length. It seems to be right to connect *aṣṭaka* and *navaka* with *basta* preceding them and to take them, with Dr. Sen, as cubits.

V. LAKSHMINARAYANA

Ba'urah or Baruza ?

In a note published in the *IHQ.*, vol. XVIII, (pp. 369 ff) entitled—*The word Ba'urah in Murūj al-Zabab of Al Ma'sūdī* Dr. H. C. Ray has tried to identify the enigmatic word Ba'urah with the dynastic name Pratihāra. The word occurs in the account of the Arab traveller Al Ma'sūdī who visited Western India towards the beginning of the 10th century. His account was completed sometime before 955 A.D. While speaking of the contemporary kings of Kanoj, Al Ma'sūdī says that the king of Kanoj was called Ba'urah and that it was also the common title of all the kings within the empire. The contemporary ruling dynasty of Kanoj was the Gurjara-Pratihāra and this has naturally led scholars to connect the word Ba'urah with Pratihāra in spite of the great phonetic difficulty. Dr. Ray endorses the view that it is a corruption of the dynastic name Pratihāra (> Padihāra).

The reading of the word is far from certain. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille who were the first to edit the text and translate it under the title *Les Princes d'Or* adopted the reading *Bawurah* (and not *Baourah* as Dr. Ray has noted). Ba'urah is the reading adopted by Elliot and Dowson. Prof. Hodivala suggests the reading *Bozah*, *Bozob* or *Bodzah* and connects it with the name Bhoja. Bhoja is however the personal name of only one principal ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty, that of Bhoja I. Al Ma'sūdī on the contrary clearly states that it was the *title* common to all the kings within the empire. This is why Prof. Hodivala's suggestion has not been found fully satisfactory.

None of these scholars seems to have compared a revised translation of certain portions of Al Ma'sūdī's work given by Ferrand in his *Textes Géographiques Arabes Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient* (pp. 91-

108). He gives an entirely new reading—that of *Barūza* which is the reading accepted by Marquart (*Eransahr*, pp. 263-264) on the basis of the Leyden manuscript of the text. This reading, I believe, gives a satisfactory solution of the problem. Ferrand translates the relevant passages thus:

- (i) "One of his (Ballahrā) neighbours, amongst the kings of India far away from the sea, is the lord of the city of Kanudj,—the *Barūza* which is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has strong garrisons stationed in the North, South, West and East because each of these sides is menaced by a warlike neighbour." (P 94)
- (ii) "The king of India is called Ballahrā, that of Kanudj in Sind *Barūza* and that is the name which is borne by all the kings of the country. There is also the city of *Barūza* which today is in the bosom of Islam and amongst the dependencies of Multan. It is from this city that comes out one of the rivers of which the union forms the *Mihṛān* (Indus) of Sind. The king of Kanudj, *Barūza*, is the adversary of Ballahrā, the king of India" (P 102).
- (iii) "The kingdom of *Barūza*, the king of Kanudj, has an area of nearly 120 square parasangs in parasangs of Sind, each of which measures 8000 (parasangs) of this country. This king about whom we have already spoken, has four armies according to the four directions of wind—each of these consists of seven hundred thousand or even nine hundred thousand men. The Northern army is destined to fight with the ruler of Multan and his subjects, the Musalmans who have settled on this frontier. The Southern army operates against the Ballahrā, the king of *Mānkir*. The other two armies are meant for any quarter whatsoever in which the enemy might appear" (Pp 102-103).
- (iv) "The *Mihṛān* (Indus) of Sind comes out from well known sources in the upper region of Sind, the territory of Kanudj, the kingdom of *Barūza*, the countries of *Kāsmir*, *Kandahār* and *Ṭekin* and at last it flows into Multān where it gets the name of *Mihṛān of Gold*" (P 95).

All are agreed that the kings of Kanuj mentioned by Al Ma'sūdī were the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings. We cannot think of any other contemporary dynasty which had attained the political and military strength to which Al Ma'sūdī refers. But how to explain the title *Barūza*, which according to Al Ma'sūdī was a title borne by all rulers of the kingdom?

Barūza can be explained as the Persian translation of the word *Varāha*. The word corresponding to Sanskrit *Varāha* and meaning "boar" is in

Avestan—*Varāza*, in Pehlevi—*Varāz* and in New Persian—*Varāz* (Cf. Paul Horn—*Neupersische Etymologie*, no. 896) Probably the correct reading was *Bareza* (برز) instead of *Barūza* (برز) In any way the Arab copyist did not pay much attention to the vowel quantity of letter *rā* (ر) in the Persian word.

We know that *Varāha* was a favourite title of the Gurjara kings. King Bhoja who was the real founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy had assumed the title of *Ādi-Varāha*. He had assumed another title viz. *Mihira* to show his leanings to the sun-worship. It is not known if all the rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty had assumed the title *Varāha*. But we know that the Gurjara rulers of Kathiāwād favoured the title. This is clearly mentioned in a line of the famous passage of the Jaina *Harvamsā* which has been quoted by various authors (R. C. Majumdar—*The Gurjara-Pratihāras*, *JL*, X, p. 23, B. C. Sen—*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 296). The last line of the passage runs as follows: *sauryānām-adhīmandale jayayute vire Varāhe-vats* which has been rendered as “and in the west, *Varāha* or *Jayavarāha* of the Sauryas.” The Jaina *Harvamsā* was completed in 783-784 A.D. We know of another king *Dharanivarāha*, most probably of the same stock, who was ruling in Kathiāwād as a *Mahāsāmanta* of *Mahīpāla* of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

All this suggests that the title *Varāha* was a favourite title of the Gurjara rulers either of the Pratihāra or of other clans. Al Ma'sūdī, in fact, does not say that the title was confined to the Pratihāra clan alone. He clearly says that the title was used by all kings of the Gurjara empire. The name of one of the last rulers of the Pratihāra clan, *Barū-jaybāl* becomes less enigmatic if we take the first word as the same title *Barūza* (-*Varāha*). The real name of the ruler was probably *Jaypal* and *Varāha*, the title.

Al Ma'sūdī also refers to a city called *Barūza* which formerly belonged to the Gurjara empire but in his days had been annexed to the Mahomedan kingdom of Sind. No definite identification of this place has been proposed by Dr. Ray either in his *Dynastic History* (I, p. 16) or in his article already referred to. Al Ma'sūdī says that one of the main tributaries of the Indus comes out from this city. This can only mean that the city was situated near the sources of one of the tributaries of the Indus.

There were two cities which bore the name *Varāha*. One of these two is mentioned by Hiuan-tsang as *Su-p'i-to-fa-la-tzu* which was restored

by Julien as Sphitavaras and by Watters as Śvetavat (Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 126) But Marquart was the first to recognise the name as a Middle Persian one and to restore it as **Speta-varāz* which would be in Sanskrit *Sveta-Varāha* (Marquart—*Festschrift Sachau*, p. 265, referred to by Pelliot—*T'oung Pao*, XXIII, p. 114n) The city was situated in the neighbourhood of Kapiśā and was thus in Kafiristan. None of the tributaries of the Indus has its source near Kapiśā unless we think of the Kabul river. But Al Ma'sūdī clearly mentions one of the Punjab tributaries which flows up to Multan. The next city which had the name of Varāha is the *Varāhamūlapura* or *Bārāmūla* which is situated near the gateway to the Kashmir valley. The Jhelum after carrying the waters of the Wular lake passes by this city. It could be very well described as a city situated near the sources of the Jhelum which is one of the main tributaries of the Indus.

We have next to examine if the city of Varāhamūlapura ever belonged to the Gurjaras and if it had really passed into the hands of the Musalmans in the 10th century. It is likely that the frontier province of the Kashmir valley up to Bārāmūla was in the hands of the Gurjaras in the end of the ninth and the beginning of the 10th centuries. The Gurjara king Alakhāna occupied the upper portions of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers, south of Dāivābhisūra and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east. The *Rājataranginī* informs us that Alakhāna was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman and compelled to cede to Kashmir the territories contiguous with it (*Rāj*, IV, 142-143, Ray—*Dynastic History*, I, pp 72 ff.) It is not improbable that Alakhāna had extended his supremacy up to the gates of Kashmir and annexed Bārāmūla to his kingdom for some time. But there is no evidence of any Mahomedan conquest in this region before the end of the 10th century.

Pāśupatasūtra

This is the earliest and most authoritative text-book of the Nakuliśa Pāśupata school of Śaivas, which was drawn upon and held in great esteem by all later writers, who claimed divine origin for it. A communication about a manuscript of the work accompanied by a portion of a commentary of Kauṇḍanya on it, found in the Indian Museum collection of manuscripts made over to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was given by the writer of the present note at the monthly meeting of the Society in November 1938.¹ The work was subsequently published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. CXLIII). The edition is based on a manuscript discovered in Benares and partly on the manuscript of the Society.² A number of variants have been noted in it though the sources thereof have not been indicated. But variants found in the Society's manuscript have not been mentioned.³ As a matter of fact, however, there exist differences of readings between the printed edition and the Society's Ms. A reference is made below to those noticed in the text of the sūtras as being the more important

Printed ed.	Ms.
I. 2 ज्ञायीत	ज्ञायत्
I. 8 •हुहुंकार	•हुहुंकार
I. 9 दक्षिणामूर्तिः	दक्षिणामूर्तिम्
I 25-6 विकरणः धर्मित्वं	विकरणधर्मित्वं
I. 38 इत्येतैर्गुणैः	इत्येतैरेभिर्गुणैः
I. 43 भवस्व	भवस्व
I. 44 भवोद्भवः	भवोद्भवस्य नमः
II. 3 ज्येष्ठस्य	This is followed by श्रेष्ठस्य
II. 6 सार्वकामिकः	सर्वकामिकः
II 15 अतिवत्तमतीष्टं	अतिदत्तमतिगूढं
II 22 ज्येष्ठाय नमः	This is followed by श्रेष्ठाय नमः
II. 24 कलविकरणाय नमः	This is followed by बलविकर- णाय नमो बलाय नमः

1 Vide *Year-book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol V, p 148, *Hindu* (Madras), November 13, 1938.

2 It is not stated definitely as to how the manuscript was utilised, save and except that a portion of the work not found in the Benares manuscript was taken from the former.

3 The sources of the portions within squared brackets (p 51 & p 107) have not also been indicated.

II. 27	मनोऽमयाव	मनोन्मनाव
III. 2	व्यक्ताचारः	अव्यक्ताचारः
III. 18	परिभवं	परेभ्यः परिभवं
III. 23	घोरघोरतरेभ्यश्च	घोरघोरतरेभ्यः
IV 1	तप आनन्त्याय	तपोऽनन्त्याय
IV 7	कृताश्व०	कृतन्त०
IV 15	अनिन्दितकर्मा	Not found in Ms.
V 1 2	अज्ञसः योगी	असन्नयोगी
V. 25	हृदि	तत्सदिति हृदि
V 37	संचितम्	संचिन्य
V 38	स्थापयित्वा च	स्थापयित्वा तु
V 39	क्षेमी सन्	क्षेम्यां सं०
V. 44	ब्रह्मणोऽधिपति०	ब्रह्माधिपतिर्ब्रह्मणोऽधिपति०
V. 47	शिखः	शिखोम्

It will be noticed that some of the variants in the concluding sūtras of the different chapters agree with texts occurring in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 43-7),⁴ from which they might have been borrowed. It may not be unlikely that these formed part of the original version which was slightly different from the one commented on by Kaundanya.

A very important variant noticed in the commentary portion relates to the name of the author of the commentary which is Kaundanya in the Society's Ms and Kaundinya in the printed edition.

Of the variants of the commentary only one noted on p. 26 of the edition occurs in the Society's Ms and that side by side with the reading adopted in the former.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

4 Sāyana's reading सर्वतः in X. 45. 1 does not, however, agree either with the printed edition or the manuscript.

Evidence of the Nālandā Seals¹

1. *Seal of Budha Gupta*²

The exact position of Budha Gupta (c. 476-95 A.D.) in the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas could not so long be determined owing to want of definite evidence. Some scholars suggested that he was a son of Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.), while others took him to be the successor (possibly son) of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription (473 A.D.). The recently published Nālandā seal³ of Budha Gupta, though unfortunately fragmentary, proves beyond doubt that all the hypotheses regarding his relationship with other members of the Imperial Gupta family are wrong and that Budha Gupta was certainly a son of Pūru Gupta whose real name as found on the Nālandā seal of his son Narasimha Gupta is no doubt Pūru Gupta.⁴

A little more than half of the Nālandā seal of Budha Gupta is broken away and lost. The preserved portion actually belongs to the proper left of the seal. Fortunately however the text of the lost section can be very satisfactorily restored with the help of the Nālandā seals of Narasimha Gupta, son of Pūru Gupta, and the Nālandā and Bhitari seals of Narasimha's son Kumāra Gupta. Comparing the lines of writing, the concluding section of each of the lines and the size of the seal of Narasimha Gupta with those of the seal of Budha Gupta, one cannot fail to notice the striking similarity between the two. It is perfectly clear that the text of lines 1-6 on

1 The author is indebted for a few suggestions to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri who is now inclined to take Śakrāditya of a Nālandā seal (*Mem. ASI*, No. 66, p. 38) and of Hsien Tsang to be a *varada* of Pūru Gupta.

2 After this note was prepared and sent for publication, Mr. A. Ghosh's note on Budha Gupta's seal has been published in *IHQ*, June, 1943, p. 119ff.

3 *Mem. ASI*, No. 66, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material* by H. Sastri, p. 64.

4 Cf. Krishna Deva, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 236 and line 6 of the Nālandā seal of Narasimha Gupta, plate VIII (b) in *Mem. ASI*, No. 66. I cannot accept the suggestion that Skanda Gupta and Pūru Gupta were one and the same king. Such a theory cannot be accepted without further evidence, as the absence of Skanda's name and the use of Pūru's on the seals and the presence of the former and the absence of the latter in the inscriptions can hardly be explained in the present state of our knowledge.

the seals of both Narasimha Gupta and Budha Gupta is the same as the corresponding section of the inscription on the seals of Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta. A comparison of this section of the epigraph as found on the seals of Narasimha Gupta and Budha Gupta would show that both the seals have practically similar number of *aksaras* in the corresponding lines.

Restored text of the Nālandā Seal of Budha Gupta.

1. [सर्व्वराजोच्छ्रेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज*]श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-
श्रीघटोत्क-
2. [चपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि*]दौहित्रस्य महादेव्या
कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-
3. [स्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि*]गृहीतो महादेव्या दत्तदेव्या-
मुत्पन्नः
4. [स्वयन्वाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्री*]चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-
दानुध्यातो
5. [महादेव्या ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज*]श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
6. [नुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म*]हाराजाधिराजश्री[पुरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
7. [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्या श्री*]महा(?)देव्यामुत्पन्नः
8. [परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज श्री*]बुधगुप्तः (॥*)

Restored text of the Nālandā Seal of Narasimha Gupta

1. [सर्व्वराजोच्छ्रेत्तुः पृथि*]व्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-
श्रीघटोत्कचपौ-
2. [त्रस्य महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्या
कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-
3. [स्य महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्तदेव्या-
मुत्पन्न-
4. [स्वयन्वाप्रतिरथ*]: परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
स्तत्पादानु-
5. [ध्यातो महादेव्या*] ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य
पुत्रस्तत्पा-
6. [दानुध्यातो म*]हादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः महाराजाधिराजश्रीपुरुगुप्तस्तस्य पु-
7. [त्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो*] महादेव्या श्रीचन्द्रदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभाग-
8. [वतो महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीनरसिंहगुप्तः (॥*)

Number of *akṣaras* in the lines.

Line	Seal of Narasiṃha			Seal of Budha		
1	36	34
2 36	.	..	38
3	34 .	.	.	34
4		..	34 .	.	.	36
5	.	.	32 .	.	.	31
6			31 .	.	.	31
7		.	. 24 .	.	.	18
8			16 .	.	.	19

It will be seen that there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between the names of Pūru Gupta and Budha Gupta and that there is hardly any doubt regarding their relationship as indicated by the word *putra* occurring at the end of line 6. It is thus proved that Budha Gupta was a son of Pūru Gupta. We cannot be sure about the name of Budha Gupta's mother, but she seems to be different from Candradevī, mother of Narasiṃha Gupta. It may be pointed out in this connection that the word *mahādevī* meaning simply "a queen" is usually but wrongly taken by scholars to indicate "the chief queen."

The theory of those scholars who placed the reign of Pūru Gupta after that of Budha Gupta is now rendered impossible by the evidence furnished by the Nālandā seal of Budha Gupta. But the chronological position of Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta is likely to remain unsettled until further evidence is forthcoming. If Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasiṃha Gupta, is identified with Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription of 473 A.D., we have to believe that Pūru Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta all ruled between 467 A.D. the last known date of Skanda Gupta and 476 A.D. the first known date of Budha Gupta, and that Budha Gupta, possibly a younger step-brother of Narasiṃha Gupta, succeeded Viṣṇu Gupta on the throne. The main objection to this view would be the accommodation of four kings within the comparatively short period of nine years. We have moreover to find out a Bālāditya, different from Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya, to be assigned to the same period as that of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (c. 515-35 A.D.).

It is also possible to suggest that Budha Gupta was the elder step-brother of Narasiṃha Gupta and that Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta were all successors of Budha Gupta. In this case, Narasiṃha Gupta no doubt becomes a contemporary of Mihirakula, but the position of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription (473 A.D.) in the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas remains undetermined. This view moreover cannot be quite easily reconciled with the rule of Vainya Gupta (507 A.D.) and Bhānu Gupta (510 A.D.). Of course there may be a third alternative suggesting the division of empire and the simultaneous rule of more than one prince at a time in different parts of the country. It is not easy to accept without the help of further evidence any one of the suggestions in the present state of our knowledge. The doubtful evidence of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives no material help, while the tradition recorded in the *Life of Hsuen Tsiang* that Bālāditya, contemporary of Mihirakula, was preceded by Tathāgata Gupta and Buddha Gupta and succeeded by his son Vajra makes the confusion worse confounded.

2 Seal of Vainya Gupta

A king named Vainya Gupta was known from the Gunaighar (Tippera Dist., Bengal) inscription of A.D. 507¹. He was identified with Dvādaśāditya of the coins. It however could not be determined if Vainya Gupta actually belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty. While the Imperial Guptas are called *parama-bhāgavata*, Vainya Gupta, if the published text of the Gunaighar inscription is to be accepted was *bhagavan-mahādevapād-ānudhyāta*. The small fragment of a seal of this king was discovered at Nālandā sometime ago and has been recently published². The legend on the seal, though partially preserved, resembles in point of style that of the seals of the Imperial Guptas. The text of the preserved portion of the legend runs: गुप्तस्य पुत्रस्त...स्य पुत्रस्तथादानुच्चातः श्री...गुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तथादानुच्चातो महादेव्या...परममागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीवैव्यगुप्तः

It will be seen that Vainya Gupta was not only a *paramabhāgavata*, but, like his own name, the names of his ancestors ended in the word *Gupta*. It is thus clear that Vainya Gupta belonged to the line of the Imperial Guptas and that he ruled at least over considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar almost immediately after Budha Gupta. We do not know anything about the

1 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 33iff

2 *Mem. ASI.*, No. 66, p. 67.

relationship that might have existed between Budha Gupta and Vainya Gupta and between the latter and Bhānu Gupta of the Eran inscription of 510 A.D.³ As regards the position of Bhānu Gupta, several alternate suggestions are possible. Firstly, Bhānu Gupta may have been a successor of Vainya Gupta and the dominions of both may have included parts of Eastern Malwa. Secondly, Vainya Gupta may have been the lord of the eastern part of the Gupta empire when its western part was being ruled by Bhānu Gupta. Thirdly, Bhānu Gupta may have actually been a viceroy in the Malwa region like Govinda Gupta and Ghatotkaca Gupta.⁴

The reign period of Vainya Gupta is intimately associated with the history of the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. The rise of a ruling dynasty represented by Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva in Central and South-west Bengal in the first half of the sixth century A.D. possibly points to the extirpation of Gupta rule from the whole of Bengal excepting the Pundravardhana bhukti (North Bengal). The centre of the power of this royal line was possibly in Gauda (mod. Murshidābād Dist.)⁵ and the characterisation of the so-called Gaudī *rīti* of poetical composition was probably effected under the patronage of these kings and their successors. The Maukharis of Magadha may have come into conflict with the Gaudas originally as feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, but when, in course of the struggle, Gupta rule in Magadha was extinguished, the Maukharis fought with the Gaudas with the claim of mastery over Magadha. It is not impossible that Gauda rulers like Gopacandra advanced considerably into Magadha by pushing the Maukharis back towards the west and that it was they who extirpated Gupta rule from North Bengal about the middle of the sixth century. But the decline of the Guptas in North Bengal may have been mainly due to the encroachment of the kings of Kāmarūpa.⁷

The western limit of the dominions of Budha Gupta and his successors cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is usually

3 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 335f

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 298f, 494ff

5 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 350ff, 354ff, 357ff, 359ff

6 Gopacandra's dominion, certainly included the Burdwan Dist., just to the south of the Murshidabad Dist. which is Gauda in the oldest and the most restricted sense. For a Nālandā seal of the Candras see H. Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

7 Mahāsena Gupta of the "Later Gupta" Dynasty is known to have defeated Sushthitarman king of Kāmarūpa, near the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). This possibly points to the fact that this Kāmarūpa king tried to extend his political influence upon considerable portions of North Bengal.

supposed that the successors of Skanda Gupta lost control over the Kathiawar region and the successors of Budha Gupta even lost West and parts of East Malwa to the Hūṇas. These points cannot be definitely settled until further evidence is forthcoming. It is however not impossible that the early Maitrakas were subordinates of the Imperial Guptas and that the *paramabhattāraka* referred to in the inscription (502 A.D.)⁸ of Mahārāja Droṇasiṃha who was aspiring for independence was actually a prince of the Gupta family whose power in the western part of the empire was already on the decline. It is interesting to note that West Malwa is known to have been freed from Hūṇa occupation Yaśodharman-Visṇuvardhana of the Aulikara family that was originally subordinate to the Imperial Guptas.⁹ Even in East Malwa not the Imperial Guptas, but a different ruling family is found established after the expulsion of the Hūṇas.¹⁰ This new dynasty is called the "Later Gupta" which is however a misnomer. They neither claim connection with the Guptas, nor do they call their family *Gupta*, and at least the name of one of the members, Ādityasena, has nothing to do with that word. The early members of this family were apparently subordinate to the Imperial Guptas, but during the Hūṇa trouble about the beginning of the sixth century, Kṛṣṇa Gupta appears to have assumed independence. About the final collapse of the Imperial Gupta power in the middle of the sixth century A.D., the Maukharis were powerful in parts of Bihar and U.P.,¹¹ but they had to contend with the Gaudas in the east and the line of Kṛṣṇa Gupta in the west.

8 *Sel Ins.*, p. 403ff

9 *Ibid* pp. 386ff, 393ff, 504

10 Kumāra Gupta and Mādhaba Gupta, sons of Mahāsena Gupta, are referred to in the *Harsacarita* as "sons of the king of Mālava". Deva Gupta who apparently drove away the above princes and occupied the throne of Mahāsena Gupta is likewise represented as king of Mālava. This Deva Gupta in alliance with Śaśāṅka of Gauda defeated and killed Maukhari Grahavarman and occupied Kanauj for a time. He was next defeated by Rājyavardhana king of Thaneshwar. Both West and East Malwa were very soon occupied by the Katarcuris whose original territory may have been about the city of Māhismatī on the Narmadā. This northward push of the Katarcuris may have been due to Cālukya pressure from the south. But they were soon subdued by Harsa who must have made his position in Malwa secure before advancing against the Maitraka kingdom.

11 That the Maukharis styled themselves as lords of Magadha is suggested in an inscription of the Somavamsis of South Kosala. A brother's son of Tivara (c. 565-80; cf. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 144) is said to have married the daughter of a *nṛpa* (prince) named Sūryavarman, "born in the family of the Varmanas who were great

3. Seal of Bhāskaravarman.

A seal of Bhāskaravarman, the celebrated king of Kāmarūpa in the first half of the seventh century A.D. has been found at Nālandā.¹ It may be suggested that after the death of his powerful friend Harṣa, Bhāskaravarman occupied parts of Bengal and Bihar and that the seal belongs to the period of Kāmarūpa occupation of Nālandā. But the suggestion regarding the occupation of Bihar is rendered doubtful by the fact that Harṣa probably established the "Later Guptas" in Magadha during the concluding years of his life.²

The seal may then be connected with Bhāskaravarman's stay in South Bihar in the year 643 A.D. The story as given in the *Life of Hsuen Tsang* is worth quoting.³

Harṣa Śilāditya came to Orissa after the subjugation of Kongoda (East Ganjam). When he was progressing through Orissa, local Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna school showed him a book that had been written for showing up certain Mahāyāna doctrines. Harṣa who is reported to have had Mahāyāna owing to their suzerainty over Magadha" (*M.K.H.S. Papers*, II, p. 19 निष्पद्ये मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले बन्धीयां.....यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवन्मी नृपः). Raychaudhuri's identification of this Sūryavarman with the son of Isīnavarman, mentioned in the Haraha inscription (553-54 A.D.), is justifiable (*Pol. Hist.*, p. 512, n). There is hardly place for a Varman dynasty in Magadha, other than the Maukharis. For Maukhari epigraphs in Bihar, cf. Bhandarkar, *Last*, Nos. 1603-05, 2079-81. Magadha was, after them under Śaśānka, Harṣa, the Later Gupta, the Gauda contemporary of Yaśovarmān, the Pālas of Bengal and the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Pūrnavarman, mentioned by Hsuen Tsang as a local ruler of Magadha possibly belonged to the Maukhari family. Maukhari Bhogavarman ruled somewhere in Bihar or U.P. as a feudatory of Ādityasena.

1 *Mem. ASI*, No. 66, p. 69.

2 After Mahāśena Gupta's death, his sons were driven out by Deva Gupta and were compelled to take shelter at the Court of Thanesar. Prabhākara-vardhana was probably the sister's son of Mahāśena Gupta. Kumāra Gupta, son of Mahāśena Gupta, is known to have been installed as a king by Harṣa (*Harṣacarita*, Parāb, p. 91: अल देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः) but possibly he did not get back his paternal kingdom in Malwa. This Kumāra of the *Harṣacarita* can not be identified with Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa as the latter was already a crowned king when he came into contact with Harṣa. Ādityasena, son of Kumāra Gupta's brother Mādhaba Gupta, ruled in 672-73 and was "the lord of Magadha" according to a Nepal inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 181). The inscriptions of Ādityasena and his successors are found in the Magadha region. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 200ff., 208ff., 211ff., 213ff.

3 Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-73.

yāna leanings then wrote to Śīlabhadra, head of the Nālandā University, requesting him to send to Orissa four learned Mahāyāna monks. Hiuen Tsang who was then living at Nālandā wrote another book in order to refute the arguments contained in the work of the Orissan monks. This book was presented to Harṣa who was however not pressing for his previous request. After returning from the Koṅgoda expedition, Harṣa heard that Hiuen Tsang was residing with Kumāra or Bhāskaravarman at the court of Kāmārūpa. He bade Bhāskaravarman through a messenger to send Hiuen Tsang to him at once. Bhāskaravarman replied, "He can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of Law yet." Harṣa was greatly enraged and exclaimed, "Kumārārāja despises me. How comes he to use such coarse language in the matter of a single priest?" Then he sent another messenger with the words, "Send the head, that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it to me." Bhāskaravarman, deeply alarmed, immediately ordered his army of 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ship to be equipped. Then taking Hiuen Tsang with him he passed up the Ganges in order to reach the place where Harṣa was residing. When they arrived at the country of Kanyaṅgala (Rajmahal), Bhāskaravarman placed Hiuen Tsang in a pavilion-of-travel recently constructed on the north bank of the Ganges and himself with his ministers went to meet Harṣa on the same bank of the river. When told that Hiuen Tsang was at a pavilion-of-travel, Harṣa expressed his desire to see him there. That evening Bhāskaravarman was waiting for Harṣa. About the first watch of night, it was reported to him that there were several thousand lighted torches on the river and that the sound of beating of drums was heard. He said, "This is Śīlādityarāja approaching." He immediately ordered his men to take torches in hand and himself with his ministers went forth a long way to meet Harṣa. "As Śīlādityarāja marched, he was always accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums who beat one stroke for every step taken; they called these 'the music-pace-drums'. Śīlāditya alone used the method—other kings were not permitted to adopt it."⁴

From the above accounts two things are perfectly clear. Harṣa apparently passed from Orissa to Kajaṅgala through the Gauḍa country (Murshidabad region). Gauḍa therefore had been humbled before 643 A.D. The fact that the large naval and elephant forces of Bhāskaravarman easily

traversed Bengal without reference to any other king's territory shows that the whole of Bengal lay prostrate at the feet of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman and that the great Śaśāṅka (c. 600-625), emperor of Gauda, was no more. If the *Ārya-maṇḍūśrīmūlakalpa*⁵ reference to Harṣa's victory over Śaśāṅka at the battle of Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān in Bogra Dist.) be authentic, Śaśāṅka may be supposed to have been once the suzerain of North Bengal. There is thus reason to believe that the rulers of Gauda,⁶ Vaṅga and Puṇḍravardhana were about the year 643 subordinate to the confederacy of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa. But the above account also proves beyond doubt that whatever may have been the respective position of the two allies in the earlier years, about A.D. 643 at least, the position of Bhāskaravarman was no better than that of a subordinate friend of Harṣa. Bhāskaravarman's personal attendance to Harṣa's court and the facts that he moved for a considerable period of time in Harṣa's company and that he was apparently not allowed to use the "music-pace-drum" go to prove the point.

In this connection it may be pointed out that Dhruvabhata or Dhruvasena III, king of Valabhī, was another subordinate ally of Harṣa, but his position at Harṣa's court appears to have been inferior to that of the king of Kāmarūpa. When at the assembly at Kanauj, Harṣa assumed the

5 Ed Sankṛityayana, p. 52 (verses 722-25)

6 There are traces of the continuity of Gauda history during the period between the death of Śaśāṅka (c. 625 A.D.) and the conquest of Gauda by Dharmapāla. According to the *Āryamaṇḍūśrīmūlakalpa*, Śaśāṅka was succeeded after a short period of confusion by his son Mānava who had a short reign. Another king of Gauda is Jayanāga who issued the Bappaghosavāta grant possibly in the third year of his reign. The *AMMK*, however, appears to place him earlier than Śaśāṅka. In the first quarter of the eighth century Gauda became very powerful under a king who was also the lord of Magadha. Magadha was apparently conquered by the Gauda king from the "Later Guptas". This Gauda king was the contemporary of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. He cannot be identified with Jīvitagupta II who was not a Gauda. The Gauda contemporaries of the Kashmir kings Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya may have been successors of this ruler. According to Jain traditions, Vākpati, author of the *Gaudavaho*, originally flourished at the Gauda court (Tripathi, *Kanauj*, p. 210). They also refer to a Gauda king named Dharma who fought with Āma, the alleged son and successor of Yaśovarman (*ibid.*, p. 211). A Gauda king named Bhata apparently connected with this line of kings is mentioned in the Chatsu inscription of Guhila Bālāditya. Bhata appears to have been a contemporary of Dharmapāla, son of Gopāla who secured a kingdom in East Bengal about the middle of the eighth century, but Dharmapāla soon extended his political influence as far as Kanauj in the west.

rôle of Śakra and his friend Bhāskaravarman that of Brahman, Harṣa's son-in-law Dhruvabhata was not called to assume any rôle of importance. His personal attendance at the court of Harṣa also speaks of his subsidiary position. He was defeated by Harṣa, was driven out of his country and was compelled to take shelter at the court of Gujara Dadda II of Lāṭa.⁷ Later he accepted the terms of peace offered by the Kanauj king along with the hand of the latter's daughter. Harṣa did nothing unusual in reinstating him as king of Valabhī, because the Maitraka friendship was of considerable value to the king of Kanauj who was afraid of a northward move on the part of Pulakeśin II of the Deccan. The suggestion that Dadda, Dhruvabhata and Pulakeśin formed a confederacy and jointly defeated Harṣa appears to be unwarranted. Had Dadda any share in the glory of defeating Harṣa, it is most unlikely that he would remain satisfied with the simple claim of having given shelter to the Maitraka king defeated by the North Indian emperor. Indian princes are never known to have erred on the side of moderation.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Haihaya Coins of Mahākosala

Some scholars do not favour the suggestion that Ratnarāja (Ratneśa), his son Prthivideva I and his grandson Jājalladeva I were rulers of Mahākosala, because there is no clear reference to their supremacy over that province in their own records. They are simply described as *Tummānādhīpatī*, lords of Tummāna (*Ind Ant*, XXII, p. 82). The coins of these rulers are therefore usually described as those of the Haihayas of Tummāna and Ratnapura and not as those of the Haihayas of Mahākosala. Some scholars, again, think that Ratnarāja (Ratneśa) and Prthivideva I, who were merely local chiefs, did not issue any coins at all and that Jājalladeva I, who secured for himself an independent status, was the first in the family to issue coins.

We have no document of the reign of Ratnarāja (Ratneśa), but the Amoda plates of the Cedi year 831 = A.D. 1079 describe Prthivideva I as

L परमेश्वरभोहर्षदेवामिभूतबलमीपतिलाणोपजातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदहः,
Ind Ant, XIII, pp 77-79

sakala-kosal-ādhipati, lord of the entire Kosala (cf. लतः पृथ्वीदेवः ... अनेन ... सकलकोसलाधिपतिना परमसाहेरवरेण कलङ्गुरिबरोद्धवेनेत्यादिसमस्त राजावलीविराजमान महा-मण्डलेश्वरवरेण etc., *E.I.*, XIX, p. 75ff.). It is thus clear that Prthivideva I had supremacy over the entire Kosala kingdom, although he was only a Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara in status. It seems that Kalingarāja, who originally conquered South Kosala, founded a new principality with its capital at Tummāṇa. Tummāṇa was a *maṇḍala*, district, to the extreme north of the Dakṣiṇa-kosala country. But it must be remembered that later records describe Tummāṇa as "the capital formerly established by an ancestor (*pūruṣa*) of Kalingarāja." The hold of this *pūruṣa* of Kalingarāja on Tummāṇa appears to have been short-lived, as Kalingarāja is said to have regained South Kosala with the prowess of his two arms (cf. दक्षिणकोशला जनपदो बाहुद्वयेनार्जितः, *E.I.*, I, p. 45ff.). Kamalarāja, son of Kalingarāja, is called *Tummānādhipati* in one record. This prince vanquished the ruler of Utkala and added to the prosperity of Gāṅgeyadeva, the lord of the Cedi country. Kamalarāja's son Ratnarāja (Ratneśa) established himself firmly and advanced further south. He removed the capital from Tummāṇa to Ratnapura, named after himself and lying about 45 miles to the south of Tummāṇa. Ratnarāja then appears to have become an independent ruler of the northern part of South Kosala including the *mandalas* of Tummāṇa, Talahāṭi, Komo, Yayapara and Anarghavallī. There is no doubt that he was a powerful prince, but his son Prthivideva I was more powerful, as he apparently consolidated the position. It is therefore very probable that Prthivideva I was the first issuer of coins in the family. The Hanumān type coins were probably his earliest issues. His Hanumān type copper coins are thick and circular in shape with the legend *Śrīmat-Prthividevab* in two lines. Their weight is 7 *māṣas* when in good state of preservation.

Jājalladeva I, son of Prthivideva I, at first imitated the Hanumān type issues of his father. The legend on his coins is *Śrīmañjājalladevab* in two lines. This king defeated Bhujabala lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonapur on the Mahānadi in Sambalpur Dist.) and was honoured by the princes of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti as a great warrior, for he had fought against Andhra Khimidi, Vairāgarh (Chanda Dist.), Laujika, Nandavali, Kukkut, Bhānārā, etc. Jājalladeva I probably issued, after these successes, coins of a new archer type a couple of which are preserved in my cabinet.

The son and successor of Jājalladeva was Ratnadeva II who is described as *sakala-kosalamaṇḍanaśrī* and as vanquisher of Coḍaganga lord of

Kaṭiṅganagara. He issued the coins of the rampant lion (facing mostly to right) type. Three sizes of both silver and copper coins were issued by this king—big, medium and small. His *ḍināra* of small size may be an imitation of the gold coins of Codagaṅga whose hoards of coins seized by him were made to rain over Sonepur as gold drops.

Prthvideva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III imitated the lion device of Ratnadeva II, but these later issues have less pure gold and thinner plates of copper for the gold and copper coins.

It appears that the Harhaya princes issued silver coins very rarely. I have found only three silver coins of Prthvideva who is presumably Prthvideva II. One of the three coins is lost, the other two weigh about 3 *raktikās* or $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The device is indistinct, but may have been a lion.

The latest coins of the family belong to Pratāpamalladeva, son and successor of Ratnadeva III. The device is a lion and a sword or dagger. No gold or silver coins of this prince are known. The above are copper issues of a circular shape. I have found only two hexagonal coins with the legend *Śrīmatpratāpamalladevab* in three lines in Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A.D. Since I published a note on these coins in *IHQ*, III, p. 175, two copper-plate grants of Pratāpamalladeva dated in the Cedi years 905 and 967 have been discovered. It is interesting to note that the seals attached to these grants bear the representation of a dagger or drawn sword with the inscription *rāja-śrīmatpratāpamalladevab*.

Some scholars refer to the country of these Harhayas as Eastern Cedi and not as Mahākosala. The name Eastern Cedi is never used as the name of their territory by the Harhaya princes of Tumāna and Ratnapura. Their separate coinage and devices possibly suggest that they were not under the Cedi kings of Tripurī. As to the origin of the Hanumān type it may be pointed out that the Harhayas were Śaivas and that Keśarī, father of Hanumān, is one of the *ganas* or attendants of Śiva. Hanumān may also have been quite a popular deity to be taken as a device.

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

REVIEWS

SRI PAÑCARĀTRARAKSĀ of Śrī Vedānta Deśika, critically edited with notes and variant readings by Vaidyaratna Paṇḍit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar and Vedāntaśiromani Paṇḍit T. Venugopalacharya With an introduction in English by G. Srinivasa Murthi, Honorary Director, Adyar Library The Adyar Library Series—No. 36 Adyar, Madras.

Digests based on old and original Āgama or Tantra works do not seem to have received at the hands of modern scholars as much attention as they so richly deserve, owing to the fact that they contain indications about the age, authority and significance of particular texts. The hostile attitude with regard to Tantric rites and practices noticed among scholars and average men of culture of the last generation was due in no small degree to a partial acquaintance with the Tantra literature excluding the digests. It is therefore gratifying to find that these works are gradually gaining a place of honour among the world of scholars and critical editions of a number of them have been published.

The work under review which deals with the rules of the daily duties of the followers of the Pañcarātra school, discusses the position occupied by them in the Vedic hierarchy and their relation to the rites sanctioned by the Smṛtis, is edited with the help of six manuscripts and four printed editions none of which is stated to be satisfactory. Variants from these are recorded in the footnotes¹. It is a curious coincidence that a considerably big lacuna occurs in the middle of chapter 3 (p. 147 of the present edition) in all the manuscripts and printed editions consulted by the learned editors². Thus

1 Variants from other sources may also be pointed out here and there. Thus the first line of the first verse at p. 169 reads अपवित्रः पवित्रो वा in ritualistic works in Bengal.

2 Similar phenomena are noticed in some other cases also. Thus a number of verses are recorded to be missing in the manuscripts of the *Kodandamandana*, (a work on *dharmaveda*) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Portions of two chapters of an 18th century work—the *Saṅgītasārāṁgī* of Tulaja—are not traceable in any of its available manuscripts (Cf. p. ix of the work as published in the Music Academy Series 5).

what appears to be a very important section treating of the rules of daily worship is lost. The work does not generally refer to the sources of the numerous extracts quoted to substantiate various statements. And the learned editors have spared no pains to identify most of them in the appendix of quotations. In a separate appendix we find the names of authors and works referred to or utilised. There are two introductions—one in Sanskrit by the editors and the other in English by Mr. G. Srinivasa Murthi, Honorary Director, Adyar Library,—which besides describing the critical apparatus, give a brief survey of Āgama literature, with special reference to the Pañcarātra literature which forms a part of the former. A sad omission that strikes an inquisitive reader is the absence of any reference to digests. A good number of works of this type is occasionally mentioned in the work under review and short accounts of at least these latter would have been highly welcome. A reference is made in the Sanskrit introduction to the shadow of obscurity surrounding the term *Pañcarātra*, as evidenced by the conflicting views regarding its true import. Attention may be drawn here to the use of the word in connection with a Śaiva ritual e.g., the *Śivarātrivrata*, popular in Eastern India,³ as well as to Pañcarātra works associated with the names of different deities like Śiva, Devī, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Brahman.⁴ The English Introduction gives a brief account of the life and works of the author, Vedānta Deśika, who is held in great esteem by the Vaiṣṇavas of the Pañcarātra school. It will thus be seen that all attempts have been made to render the work useful in every way. It will serve as a good introduction to all students eager to be familiar with the Pañcarātra system. Like other publications of the Adyar Library, the present volume also leaves nothing to be desired as regards printing and get-up.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

3 पञ्चरात्रविधानेन मूलमन्त्रेणैव हि । पूजयेन्मां यथाशक्ति वृत्त्युपादादिभिर्नरः ॥
—*Śivarātrivrata-kāthā* attributed to the *Śivarahasya*

4 शिवपञ्चरात्र, देवीपञ्चरात्र, विष्णुपञ्चरात्र, गरुडपञ्चरात्र, ब्रह्मपञ्चरात्र
—*Kavindrācārya Last* (G.O. Series), p. 23

भाववत्पञ्चरात्रायाम् —*Ibid.*, p. 27

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA by A. C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S. (Published by A. Mukherjee & Bros.) Pp. 431.

Prof. A. C. Banerjee, M.A., author of the work "Peshwa Madhav Rao I," is responsible for this valuable dissertation on the policy pursued by the British in the North-East of India from 1792-1826. The North-Eastern Frontier is a neglected subject of Indian History, the North-West monopolising our attention. In very recent times the North-East has come into prominence. But this very sober and sedate study is not a product of the war. The book was actually finished a few months before the declaration of war by Japan.

The sources utilised are exhaustive—the records in the Imperial Record Department, old Burmese Historical works, Assamese Burañjis, published Bengali documents, and contemporary and semi-contemporary works in English on Burma and Assam. This very detailed and exhaustive study is divided into seven chapters beginning with "Captain Welsh in Assam, 1792-94" and ending with "The Anglo-Burmese treaties of 1826." Excellent maps help the reader to understand the very difficult topography. The published books on Burma and Assam are too brief and slipshod to give the advanced student an adequate idea of the growth of British policy in this region. Prof. Banerjee's book should therefore be regarded as the work of a pioneer. A student of the general history of India, who possibly thinks that the North-East is not his concern, will also find in this book facts that he does not know about the policy of Non-intervention as pursued by Cornwallis and Shore, the anti-Gallican measures of Wellesley in the East, the mistakes and the fumbleings of Amherst, and the views of Sir Thomas Munro relating to British military operations in Burma.

N. K. SINHA

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 66. NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1942. Pages 133, with 13 plates.

The volume under review is an important addition to the literature on Indian epigraphy and archæology. The work is divided into two sections,

the first of which is styled *Introduction* and deals with such topics as Nālandā from Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain, Tibetan and Chinese sources. The second section called *Remains of Nālandā* deals with the structural remains, clay seals, inscriptions and sculptures discovered at the site. There is an Index and a large number of illustrations mostly of the seals, inscriptions and sculptures. But a map of the Nālandā (modern Bargāon in the Patna District) or of the excavated area is wanting.

There is no doubt that the book under review will prove useful to all students of the early history of India. A careful perusal of the work however leaves the impression that it has been rather hurriedly written. This is suggested by the fact that a considerably large number of emendations in Dr Sastri's readings of the epigraphs has been offered by an anonymous "editor" and that, in many of these cases, Dr Sastri appears to be clearly in the wrong. There are moreover numerous inaccuracies which have escaped even the notice of the "editor." Cf. *Tārānātha* for *Tāranātha* (p. 6); *paramabhāgavata* inserted in l. 5 of the seal of Budha Gupta (p. 64), *guptasya* for *guptas* = *tasya* in l. 4 of the seal of Vainya Gupta (p. 67), *pura* for *pūru* which is perfectly clear in l. 6 of the seal of Narasimha Gupta, (p. 65, cf. Pl. VIII 6, *ru* is also clear in l. 6 of the seal of Kumāra Gupta, Pl. VIII. d), the Mallasārul inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 1935-36, p. 155 ff.) not recognised as an epigraph of the time of king Gopacandra of Bengal (p. 29). As to the name of the locality both *Nālanda* and *Nālandā* appear to have been in use, though the learned author rejects the first form. We note that Dr Sastri still reads *dharmasetoh* for *varmasetoh* in l. 59 of the Nālandā grant of Devapāla (p. 99) and that he keeps silent about his unwarranted theory regarding the identification of Yaśovarman of the Nālandā record with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor epigraphs (pp. 78-79).

Some of Dr. Sastri's statements do not appear to be quite convincing. He says, e.g., "Nālandā must be a very old name, for it was current at the time of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Mahāvīra and of Gautama Buddha, i.e., about the sixth century B.C." (p. 3). Passages referring to Nālandā, quoted by the author from Buddhist and Jain literature, are however much later than the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra and their value is rendered very doubtful by Fa-hien's (399-414 A.D.) silence about the locality. We fail to understand why a section of the book is styled *References in Brahmanical Literature* (p. 14) where the author only brings in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. As a matter of fact, however, the *Arthaśāstra* has absolutely nothing to do

with Nālandā. It is again a matter of regret that the valuable seal of Bhagavaccandra, supposed to be the son of the sister's son of Gopacandra (pp. 29-30), has not been described in details.

In spite of such defects as the above, the *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material* with its numerous illustrations will no doubt prove valuable to students of Hindu history. The symbol for 10 in l. 1 of the inscription of Mahendrapāla (Pl. XI. d) is interesting as it resembles closely the symbol for the same number occurring in the Midnapore Sāhitya Parishat copper-plate inscriptions of the time of king Śaśāṅka of Gauda, edited with plates in *Pravāsi* (Beng.), Śrāvan, 1350 B.S., p. 291 ff.

We congratulate the learned author who even in his age has been able to produce a work of this type

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

AITIHĀSIKA JAINA-KĀVYA-SAṄGRAHA by Messers Agar-chand and Bhanwarlal Nahata. Published by Messers Shankardan Shubhraj Nahata, Armenian Street, Calcutta.

The readers of the *Quarterly* are already familiar with this work through Professor Kalipada Mitra's learned paper "Historical References in Jaina poems," published in vol. XVIII, pp. 101-110. But Prof. Mitra has utilised only a few out of the 193 *kāvya*s comprised in this excellent collection of 504 pages.

The book is useful for historical as well as philological studies. On the historical side, it is a valuable source-book bringing before our eyes, through its *kāvya*s, the story of the development of *Svetāmbara* religious bodies, specially the Kharataragaccha during the last one thousand years or so and of the contacts that they established with many important rulers of the period. The very first *kāvya* in the *Saṅgraha* shows the Kharataragaccha teacher Jinadatta Sūri (1169-1211 V.E.) delivering a religious message to Kumārapāla of Tribhuvanagiri (modern Tahangath). It mentions also Babberā, the town where the Muslim army is known to have encamped in the expedition against Vigraharāja IV of Śākambhari described in the pages of the *Lalitavigraharāja* drama of Somadeva. Three poems are devoted to the Jaina *ācārya* Jinaprabha Sūri. As these have been al-

ready noticed and discussed by Prof. Mitra in the article referred to above, it is hardly necessary to say anything more about them. "Aśvapati Kutub-udina" who too is said to have honoured this Sūri is obviously Kutbuddin Khilji, one of the successors of Alāuddin. *Kāvya* 13 mentions Kutbuddin as diverted by another ācārya, Jinacandra (1341-1377 V.E.) of the Kharataragaccha. As the information thus supplied belongs to a contemporary composition and can be verified also by a reference to the *Paṭṭāvals* finished in 1393 V.E., we must give Kutbuddin the credit of having been a fairly tolerant monarch, very much different from his father Alāuddin whose counsellors expected that the Hindus would or, at least, should tender gold when asked for silver and open their mouths without hesitation if the tax-collector chose to spit there.¹ A number of *kāvya*s deals with the Jaina ācāryas who influenced Akbar, the great Mughal emperor. Especially interesting, because of the new information that they supply are the *gītas* devoted to Sādhu-kīrti, a Kharataragaccha scholar who defeated Buddhi-sāgara of the Tapagaccha in a debate held at the court of Akbar in 1625 V.E. (1568 A.D.) This combined with the data contained in the *Akabarasābi-Srīngārādarpaṇa* would show how early the Jains had begun to come into contact with Akbar and to influence his religious policy.² Very much fuller and useful information can also be gleaned from the *gītas* of Jinacandra Sūri, to whom along with Hīravijaya Sūri belongs the credit of having deeply influenced the religious convictions of Akbar. Students of Mughal religious policy can hardly afford to neglect the material collected by our compilers.

In some cases the details given by the *gītas* can be proved to be wrong. But this only means that they have to be used with some caution by the historians who must first of all somehow find which of them are contemporary or very early and therefore more reliable than the others.

On the philological side, the value of the book is even greater, for it is the first collection that I have seen which gives useful samples of Rājasthānī as it was spoken from the 12th to the 19th century A.D.

1 Barani—*Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, pp. 290-291

2 For the data in the *Akabarasābi-Srīngārādarpaṇa* see my paper to be published shortly in the *ABORI*

The book is, on the whole, a meritorious production, though its utility would have been immensely increased if the authors had arranged these linguistic specimens in a strictly chronological order and tried in the Introduction to shift thoroughly the historical material contained therein. Let us hope that they would supply this deficiency in the second edition of the book and let us have also, if possible, a short essay on the evolution of Rājasthānī from 1000 A.D. to the present day.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION WAR BACKGROUND STUDIES: SIAM—LAND OF FREE MEN, by H G Deignan, EGYPT AND THE SUEZ CANAL, by Frank H H. Roberts, Jr. 1943.

These interesting pamphlets aim at providing the general reader with short historical accounts of the countries and peoples occupying a prominent position in the present war. There are good maps and illustrations explaining the text. The pamphlet on Egypt is specially interesting, for within a brief compass it gives us a brilliant survey of the vicissitudes of Egyptian history. It also contains a good bibliography. The most refreshing feature of these studies is that they are objective studies, not propaganda.

A. C. BANERJEE

CEYLON UNDER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION, 1795-1833, 2 Vols. (Vol. I, Second Edition, 1942 Vol II, First Edition, 1942) By Colvin R. De Silva, B.A., Ph.D. (London), Bar-at-Law. The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon. Price Rs. 6/50 & Rs. 7/50.

This eminently readable and well-documented work gives us a detailed and accurate account of the early period of British rule in Ceylon. The introductory chapter sketches the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Dutch for the possession of this important island. There is a brief but interesting account of the Dutch administrative system in Ceylon. The author explains the reasons for the collapse of the Dutch power in the later years of the eighteenth century. Precarious finance, military degeneration, laxity in administration accompanied by unnecessary severity of legislation, nepotism and favouritism, absence of healthy public opinion—these are some of the factors which made the Dutch power an easy prey to the British. The

history of the British occupation of the maritime provinces is narrated in some detail, and the intimate connection between this incident and the then political situation in Europe is well brought out. The author shows the incorrectness of the idea that the British were pledged to return the maritime provinces to the Dutch at a general peace. The occupation of the maritime provinces was necessarily followed by the fall of the Kandyan kingdom, which the author narrates with a very interesting wealth of detail in four chapters covering 138 pages. We get a vivid picture of the internal conditions of this land-locked kingdom: the unhealthy rivalry between the Ceylonese and the Tamil settlers, the desire to utilise foreign assistance for the solution of domestic difficulties, political intrigues culminating in the accession of an obscure Ceylon-born Nayakkar (Sri Vikrama Rajasinha) who later on kicked away the ladder and became a despot, the ever-shifting diplomacy of Pilima Talaue and Ahalepola, administrative disorganisation, and the oppression and tyranny of the provincial magnates. "The fall of the Kandyan kingdom in 1815", says the author, "resulted directly from its domestic occurrences". The two wars which culminated in British annexation were primarily due to the ambitious intrigues of Pilima Talaue and Ahalepola. But the author does not excuse the British. The 'violation' of British territory by the Kandyan troops was, says he, "merely a convenient pretext for an invasion which had previously been decided on for reasons amounting, in sum, to no more than expediency and advantageous circumstances". The extraordinary ease with which the conquest of Kandy was accomplished in a campaign of only forty days was ascribed by Brownrigg to a "total want of any organised plan of defence or any respectable effort of resistance", which was due to the disloyalty of the entire body of chiefs and the disaffection of the common people. After the annexation there were unsuccessful rebellions, for the chiefs were uneasy under the new regime, and the *Sangha* viewed the ascendancy of a Christian government as a distinct menace to Buddhism.

By far the largest portion of the book deals with the administration and economic condition of Ceylon during the period 1795-1833. It is a very competent survey, and includes separate chapters on administration, Judiciary, Land Tenure, Agriculture, Trade, Public Revenue and Finance. The author possesses intimate local knowledge, and, besides being a trained historian, is a lawyer. He is, therefore, exceptionally competent to deal with

these matters. There are two useful maps which considerably assist the non-Ceylonese reader to follow the narrative. The author has relied throughout on unpublished sources, although he has made full use of published works, both contemporary and later. The Index is exhaustive.

A. C. BANERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XXIV, parts I-II (1943)

- S. M. KATRE—*Influence of Popular Dialects on Sanskrit*
- P. K. GODE—*Rāghava Āpā Khāndekar of Puṇyastambha—His Works and Descendants* Rāghava flourished in Mahārāṣṭra in the latter half of the 18th century. His literary output includes two Sanskrit poems, one lexicon, two works on anthology, several treatises on astrology and astronomy, and many stotras.
- H. G. NARAHARI.—*Devayāna and Pitryāna*. The conception of the 'Doctrine of the Two Ways' found elaborated in the Upanisads is based on the theory of the indestructibility of the soul, which, as it is believed, continues its existence after death to reap the consequences of its deeds in life. The souls of the people of superior achievements travel by the 'way of the gods' (devayāna) which leads them to the gods or *Brahman*, helping in their final beatitude. The souls of the persons whose merits lie in the common virtues travel by 'the way of the fathers' (pitryāna) whence they have to return to the earth for rebirth after having enjoyed in company with the Fathers the rewards of the good deeds. The discussions in the paper show that the seers of the R̥gveda were not unfamiliar with this Upanisadic conception.
- LILADHAR B. KENY—*The supposed Identification of Udayana of Kauśāmbi with Udayin of Magadha*. The conclusion reached in the paper is that Udayana of Vatsa was different from Udayin of Magadha, the two kings being not even contemporaneous.
- N. J. SHENDE—*The Authorship of the Mahābhārata*. Traditions recorded in Vedic literature, and accounts found in the *Mahābhārata*, show that the Bhīṣma and Angirasa as the most influential Brāhmanas made united efforts as religious reformers championing the cause of Brāhmanism. They have utilised the saga of the Bharatas as the vehicle of instructing the people and raised the fluid text of the Bhārata to the rank of the fifth Veda by adding episodes, incorporating legends, and introducing the Vaiṣṇava and Dharma-Niti elements in the epic.
- E. D. KULKARNI.—*Unpāṇinian Forms and Usages in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. X, no. 1 (January, 1943)

- P. C. BAGCHI.—*Twelve Years of Wandering Life of Buddha*. The contents of a short Chinese treatise entitled *She enl yen king* (Sūtra on the twelve years of the wandering life of Buddha) are discussed in the paper. The Sanskrit rendering of the name of the text is given in Nanjio's Catalogue as *Dvādaśa(varṣa)viharanasūtra*. Two other Chinese versions of the same work are known to have once existed. The translation under discussion was made at Nankin in 392 A.C. by Kālodaka. Dealing with the first twelve years of Buddha's career as a religious teacher, the work gives the legendary accounts of the Master's life in the Asaṃkheya Kalpa and Bhadra Kalpa. A history of the Śākya race with a description of the Jambudvīpa and its various regions also forms a part of the text. Certain details of the life of Buddha as given here are not found elsewhere.
- R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*The Rise of Sukhodaya*. An inscription found at Sukhodaya in Siam speaks of a struggle between a Kambuja general on the one hand and two Thai chiefs named Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao and Phō Khun Phā Muang on the other. The Kambuja army is said to have been defeated and driven away from Sukhodaya, whereupon its government was entrusted to Bāng Clāng by the victorious Phā Muang. This Phā Muang is stated to have married the daughter of the Kambuja king and obtained from him the title of Śrīndrapatīndrāditya and a sacred sword signifying perhaps the conferment of the heir-apparentship of the Kambuja kingdom on him. It is surmised that this Thai chief was none other than Śrīndravatman who ruled over the kingdom of Kambuja in the 13th century, his father-in-law king Jayavarman VIII abdicating the throne in his favour. His strife with a Kambuja general points to the struggle for succession with his brother-in-law, whom he subdued with the help of another Thai chief, rewarding his services by installing him on the throne of Sukhodaya.
- .—*The date of Accession of Jayavarman II*. The epigraphical records support the view that the Kambuja king Jayavarman II ascended the throne in 802 A.C. and not earlier.
- U. N. GHOSHAL.—*Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last Twenty-five Years, 1917-42*. This supplement to a substantial paper

on the subject contains additions and corrections and bibliography of works on Greater India, region by region.

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
and Ireland, 1943, pts. 1 & 2**

- ALFRED MASTER.—*The Mysterious Paisāci*. The views that the Pisācas were a tribe living in N.W. India, speaking a dialect known as Paisāci from which have descended the Modern Dardic and Kafir groups of languages and the suggestion that the Paisāci spoken by the people of the Vindhya was a form of Prakrit influenced by Dravidian, are not supported in this article. The paper collects literary evidence on the nature of the language of Guṇādhyā's *Bṛhatkathā*, which is not available, but is known to have been written in Paisāci or Bhūtabhāṣā. It is contended here that the Pisācas could not denote a particular race, nor could the term Paisāci denote a particular type of language connected with their vernacular. The Dravidian root that may have formed the word Pisāca points to the meaning 'confusion of mind,' and the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unintelligible.
- C. A. KINCAID—*Lakṣmībāi Rani of Jhansi*. Evidence is put forward to show that Lakṣmībāi who fell fighting was a gallant lady forced by events to join the Nana Sahib against the British. The charge that she ever caused murders or was a mutineer cannot be true.
- A. K. COOMARASWAMY—*Prānaciti*. The sense of the expression *Prānaciti* is discussed in the light of statements found in Vedic literature.

Nagpur University Journal, no. 8, (December, 1942)

- T. J. KEDAR—*A New Interpretation of a disputed Reference in Gargasambhā*. Scholars differ as to the correct interpretation of the expression *ṣaṭdvikapañcadvi* found in the *Gargasambhā* with reference to the interval of time that elapsed between the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira and the beginning of the Śaka era. A reading of the expression in the usual reverse order will yield 2526 years. But *dvika* means double or twice and not two. Hence *ṣaṭdvika* is twice six or 12 and *pañcadvi* is 52. This gives 1252. Yudhiṣṭhira's rule according to this interpretation, ended 1252 years before the Śaka era began in 78 A.C. i.e. in 1174 B.C.
- H. C. SETH.—*Khāravela and Gardabhila*. The writer of the paper assigns king Khāravela of the Hathigumpha inscription to the early part of the 1st century A.C. and identifies him with Gardabhila of the Jain and

Purāṇic traditions. Vakadepasuri or Śrī Vakradeva of the Mañcapuri inscription, surmised generally as the son of Khāravela, is taken here as Vikramāditya Śakāri, the traditional founder of the Mālava era in 58-57 B.C. It is stated in Jain works that the Śakas once defeated Gardabhīla, but were after sometime themselves driven out of Ujjain by Vikramāditya, who afterwards removed the seat of his dynasty from Kālīṅga to Ujjain, and established an era in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas.

HIRALAL JAIN—*Some Recent Finds of Apabhraṃśa Literature* Contents of five Apabhraṃśa works in manuscript are described in the paper. The *Paṇṇa-kathā* is a poem dealing with the life of Pradyumna Kumāra, a remarkable figure of the Jain hierarchy. The *Sukumāla-carita* of Śrīdhara narrates the life of pious Sukumāra. The *Cbakkhamouanesa* is a treatise on the sixfold duties of a householder. The *Aṇuvaya-rayana-pāya* of Lakṣmana treats of the religious vows to be observed by the Jain householders. The *Neminābhacarita* of Lakṣmana-deva describes the life of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthankara of the Jains.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, n. 2 (May, 1943)

- A. B. M. HABIBULLAH—*Turkish Attacks on Hindusthan in the 12th and 13th centuries*
 D. D. KOSAMBI—*Race and Immunity in India* In answer to an inquiry as to why the Hunzas are so extraordinarily healthy, some accounts are furnished regarding the racial affinity, habits, and diet of the Hunza tribe living in the isolated region near Ladakh.

Ibid., vol. VI, no. 3 (June, 1943)

- B. BHAKTI—*Certain Austro-Sanskrit Word-Correspondences* The words like *Kāyastha*, *Vanga*, *śrī* (as suffix after river names), *saumāra* and *Hayagrīva*, which bear striking resemblances in sound and sense to non-Aryan Austric forms, have been examined to suggest their non-Aryan origin.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY—*Ūnātirikṭau and Atyāricyata* It has been shown from the occurrences of the dual *ūnātirikṭau* in Vedic literature "that Prajāpati as Progenitor and Ruler is to be regarded as a syzygy of conjoint principles, male and female." The meaning of the expression *atyāricyata* has also been discussed in this connection.

Y. R. GUPTA.—*Archæological Remains in Śaṇsṭāra Peth, Poona City.*

Printed and published by J. C. Sarkhel at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta

बोर सेवा मन्दिर

पुस्तकालय

काल नं०

Law, Narendra Nath.

लेखक

The Indian Historical
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